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**THE LIFE OF
DANIEL COIT GILMAN**



Daniel C. Gilman

Wm Brewster
May 28th 19
THE LIFE

OF

DANIEL COIT GILMAN

BY

FABIAN FRANKLIN

WITH THREE PORTRAITS



NEW YORK
DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY

1910

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Published, May, 1910

PREFACE

IT was at Mrs. Gilman's request that I undertook in part to write and in part to edit this Life of President Gilman. The first chapter, relating to his boyhood and youth, was written by his brother, Mr. William C. Gilman, of Norwich, Conn.; the second, covering the period of his connection with Yale College as librarian and professor, is the work of Miss Emily H. Whitney and Miss Margaret D. Whitney, daughters of the late Prof. W. D. Whitney; and the third, giving the story of his presidency of the University of California, was contributed by Prof. William Carey Jones, of that University. The editing of these chapters, and the preparation of the remaining five, embracing Mr. Gilman's life from the time of his coming to Baltimore until its close, fell to my share.

After the work was completed, and ready for the printers, came the unexpected failing of Mrs. Gilman's health, and her death after a brief period of critical illness. The appreciation of Mr. Gilman, signed by her initials, which appears at the close of the biography, was written by her for the book, and occupies the position which had been assigned to it in the first place; the few references to her occurring in the volume have likewise been left unaltered. Her relation toward her husband was not only perfect in point of personal attachment, but included an ideal completeness of sympathy with him in his labors and his aspirations; and after his death devotion to his memory was the absorbing interest of her life.

F. F.

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CHAPTER I

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

THE apostle's exhortation, "Avoid genealogies, for they are unprofitable and vain," should not be disregarded, yet it will not be amiss to answer briefly the natural inquiry, who were the ancestors of Daniel Coit Gilman, before reflecting upon the influences surrounding him in his boyhood and youth that prepared him for his work in later years.

His paternal ancestry has been traced in Wales for several generations previous to 1638, when Edward Gilman, the progenitor of most of those who bear the Gilman name in America, came from Hingham, Norfolk, England, with his wife and family, in the good ship "Diligent" to Hingham, on the shore of Massachusetts Bay. A few years later he removed to Exeter, New Hampshire, where his sons were already established in the lumber and milling business. Descendants of his are useful and influential in Exeter to-day, and in almost every state in the Union representatives of his family have been respected and esteemed for sound judgment and sterling traits of character, while not a few have risen to positions of distinguished usefulness.

It is noteworthy that on the maternal side also, Daniel Coit Gilman is of Welsh descent, John Coit, the pioneer in this country, having come from Glamorganshire, Wales, to Salem, Massachusetts, before 1638. He migrated to New London, Connecticut, in 1647, where many of his tribe still remain. His twice great-grandson, Daniel Lathrop Coit, grandfather of Daniel Coit Gilman, removed at an early age to the neighboring town of Norwich, where he married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Ephraim Bill,

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a marine agent for the United States during the Revolutionary War.

He was also in direct descent in the seventh generation from the Rev. John Lathrop, a graduate of Oxford University and a clergyman of the established Church of England, who, after two years' imprisonment for nonconformity, was banished from his native land in the stormy days of Charles I and Archbishop Laud. He came to Boston in 1634, settled in the Plymouth Colony, and died at Barnstable in 1653.

Among other ancestors was Simon Huntington, who came from Norwich, England, in 1633. From him descended a long line of distinguished men, and of honorable women not a few.

Other ancestors were Governor Thomas Dudley, one of the founders of Harvard College; William Gager, "right godly man, skillful chyrurgeon, and one of the Deacons of the Congregation"; and Thomas Adgate, who, with the son of Gager and the two sons of Simon Huntington, was numbered with the founders of Norwich in 1659. All these, and indeed all of his ancestors in America, so far as is known, were of English stock transplanted to New England soil between 1630 and 1640.

William Charles Gilman, the father of Daniel, born in Exeter, New Hampshire, was enrolled in his boyhood at Phillips Exeter Academy. Diverted from a purpose of entering Harvard College, by relatives who were iron merchants and nail manufacturers in Boston, he was indentured to them at an early age, and gained a thorough knowledge of the various branches of their work. Diligent in business, in his leisure hours he was the Secretary of the Howard Benevolent Society, organized for the relief of the sick and needy; and as a member of "The Rangers," a light infantry company, he did service in 1815 at Fort

Strong in Boston Harbor. Long-continued correspondence with his parents and sisters shows that he was the center of the family group, and that absence from home did not weaken domestic ties. When he became of age, in 1816, having learned something of the practical process of manufacture by actual work in the nail mill, he removed to Norwich, Connecticut, bringing with him experienced workmen, and built a large mill for the manufacture of cut nails by what was then a new process.

In New England every little stream with a waterfall earns its right of way by turning mill wheels, and Mr. Gilman soon became interested in establishing other manufactories on the neighboring Yantic and Shetucket rivers. An extensive and prosperous business demanded his close supervision, but with rare judgment he gathered about him, almost instinctively, competent assistants in his counting room and the mills. Thus, relieved of the burden of routine work, for more than twenty-five years there was hardly an important business enterprise in the town, whether for manufactures, finance, commerce or transportation, with which he was not identified. He was prominent in efforts for the improvement of public schools, and in all movements of a moral, religious or benevolent character he took an active part. He made a careful study of the early history of the town, was deeply interested in the welfare of the vanishing tribe of Mohegan Indians on their reservation a few miles distant; and, while devoted especially to affairs at home, his benevolent purposes were not circumscribed by narrow limits, but extended to remote places in this and other lands. He was a ready speaker and writer, he had a pleasant voice and manner, a cheerful religious faith, a hopeful disposition, and, desiring to strengthen the things that remain, looked constantly for improvements in the future.

Changes in his business affairs caused his removal in 1844 to the city of New York, where, until his death nearly twenty years later, his interest in works of practical benevolence and philanthropy was unabated. Of silver and gold he had little, but of that little he gave gladly, and was unceasingly generous in gifts of time, thought and personal service. In a letter to his son he said, "the secret of being happy is in aiming at the happiness of others, — doing good as we have opportunity." These traits of his character are noteworthy because, as will be seen, they were afterwards manifested in his son; so much so, that one of Daniel's sisters said "he is more like father than any other of his children."

Daniel's mother, Eliza Coit, was a daughter of Daniel Lathrop Coit, a retired merchant of Norwich, a man of extensive reading, cultivated tastes and ample means, who had traveled in Europe at a time when to have crossed the Atlantic was a mark of distinction. She had an attractive person and a warm heart. Devotedly attached to her husband in prosperity and misfortune, and sympathizing in all his interests in every way, she made it the great business of her life to increase the happiness of her children and to strengthen the bonds of affection between them.

Daniel was the fifth in a family of nine children, three sisters and one brother being older, and three sisters and one brother younger than himself. He was born in Norwich, Connecticut, July 6, 1831, in the height of his father's prosperity, in a home surrounded with spacious gardens leading to a natural grove on a hillside overlooking the Yantic River and the manufacturing village at the Falls in which his father was interested.

After graduating at primary schools, he entered the Norwich Academy, a school far above the average of schools in inland towns at that day, liberally supported by parents

desiring to have their sons educated at home. The principal, Calvin Tracy, a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1831, was a good all-round teacher in the days when the schoolmaster was abroad in the land, and was supposed to know something about everything. The Wednesday afternoons were given to declamation — "speaking pieces," as the phrase was — and Saturday mornings were divided between "experiments" with the philosophical and chemical "apparatus" with which the school was provided, and the exercises of a debating society in which grave political, moral and literary questions were formally discussed by regularly appointed disputants.

Dr. Timothy Dwight of Yale University, a schoolmate of Daniel's, writing of this school forty years later in his interesting paper, "How I was Educated," said:

This school was conducted by Mr. Calvin Tracy. . . . He had the good fortune, as I also had, to be surrounded by a bright company of boys gathered from the best families of the place. . . .

The boys, I think, complained in after years that he did not have the best system of instruction; but somehow or other, either by means of what he did, or because of nature's gifts and the subsequent advantages they enjoyed, a goodly number of those boys have had an honorable place in the world. . . .

The man whose happy lot it is to have been born in Norwich, Connecticut, and whose early years were familiar with its beautiful hills, has a recollection of the past, as he passes on in his manhood life, which is full of peace and pleasantness. And so long as the recollection abides with him, he will be thankful for it and will be glad to think of everything which makes a part of its joyousness.

During an interval, after Mr. Tracy had closed his school, Daniel for a time played the schoolmaster's part for his younger sisters and brother in their studies at home. This was the beginning of his work as an educator!

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After this for a year he was under the instruction of Mr. Weld, an excellent teacher, and in his school sharpened his wits against those of bright girls as well as boys of his own age. He greatly enjoyed his studies here, was reading forty lines of Virgil a day, and, as a prize for English composition, received a copy of John Foster's essay on "Decision of Character."

Athletics, at that time, had not become an exact science, but he engaged with zest in the common sports of boys in the primitive forms of ball playing, rowing, skating and the like; but no amusement gave him greater pleasure than he found in the home grounds and in long walks and rambles over the forest-covered hillsides of his native town.

He looked forward to the removal of his father's family to New York, in his fourteenth year, with some misgiving. He dreaded to think of living in a brick house in the middle of a city block with omnibuses rattling over the pavement, the noise and crowds, and the loss of the freedom of rural life. But he accepted unaccustomed conditions with a good heart, and soon found great pleasure in new scenes and occupations.

Almost immediately he entered a school kept by his old instructor, Mr. Tracy, and, after a short time, as a pupil assistant, had charge of a room full of younger boys, while pursuing at the same time his studies in the upper class with private recitations. For this service he received a moderate compensation above his own tuition.

His active, inquiring mind soon found abundant occupation for his leisure hours and holidays. He heard good music and saw good pictures. He heard the best political orators and the best preachers — Protestants, Jews and Roman Catholics; he visited the public charitable institutions for orphans, for the blind, and for the deaf and dumb, all the public buildings, the Navy Yard and the govern-

ment forts. In short, he knew more about all the good things in the city in six months than most boys knew who had lived there all their lives. It gave him great pleasure to learn all he could about something new — a new packet ship, for instance, or a new invention — and to come home and tell about it. He was as ready then as he was in later life to acquire and to impart interesting and useful knowledge.

Before the family left Norwich he had begun to publish a weekly periodical called *Our Paper*. Intended exclusively for home circulation and as a means of communication with absent members, it was continued for years after the office of publication was removed to New York. It was carefully written with his own pen, with ornamental head lines, and was by no means a bad primary course in journalism. He also formed a respectable collection of minerals and natural curiosities which he exhibited as "A School Boy's Cabinet." He was keen to gain new specimens, and in 1846 wrote to his sister at Norwich for a fragment of Sillimanite, a not very common mineral which, he had heard, was to be found there.

He was also engaged for a short time in his father's mercantile house, where he gained some practical knowledge of business methods and acquired a remarkably clear and rapid handwriting. This facility with his pen introduced him to library work in making, for Henry Stevens, a card catalogue of books from the library of George Washington which were purchased in 1848 by the Boston Athenæum. This experience was followed by catalogue work in the Mercantile Library of New York, with S. Hastings Grant, whom he spoke of later as his dearest friend outside his own kin; and from their intimacy grew *Norton's Literary Gazette*, which maintained under their editorship for several years a high reputation for disinterested criti-

cism. Through their efforts was held in 1853 the first annual convention of American Librarians.

His studies preparatory to entering Yale College were continued at the Cornelius Institute, New York, under Dr. John J. Owen, well known as an editor of Greek and Latin text books. This school was established primarily, though not exclusively, for candidates for the Christian ministry. As he had already become a member of the Congregational Church with which his parents were connected, it was not strange that some persons who were not well informed assumed that his purpose was to become a clergyman. But whatever thoughts revolved in his mind, he expressed no such intention, and was too conscientious to commit himself to that course when he was not fully persuaded in his own mind. Referring to his having become a church member at an early age, he said in 1875, "I suffer to this day from the injudicious fervor of those outside the family by whom I was then surrounded."

In the summer of 1848 he went to New Haven, and, writing to his father, said, "the dreaded examination has passed and I have no more fears on that score. After two sessions of about five hours I received the usual certificate, and was surprised that I was not 'conditioned,' as I fully expected to be. I am greatly relieved. It seems as though a heavy load was removed, and I feel almost as free as the wind. I am sure if home had been within ten miles I should have set out for it on the full run this afternoon."

At the beginning of the fall term, six weeks later, when he was three months past his seventeenth birthday, he was enrolled as a member of the Yale class of 1852. This was in the second year of the presidency of Dr. Woolsey, when Professors Silliman, Kingsley, Olmsted, Larned, Thacher, Dana and Hadley were active in the academic faculty.

He found a number of Norwich boys, old comrades, in

college, and among his intimate friends and contemporaries who have since reached eminent distinction were Timothy Dwight, who preceded him, and Andrew Dickson White, who succeeded him in the next class.

He entered immediately with enthusiasm upon the diverse occupations of college life, which he described in detail in family letters, saying, in conclusion, "and so they go, day after day, week after week; there is a good deal of variety, a good deal of merriment, a good deal of pleasure, a good deal of trouble, and, more than all, a good deal of hard work at study, which no one can understand but those who are engaged in it."

It was an inestimable advantage to him that his home during his college life was in the family of his uncle, Professor James L. Kingsley, whose varied learning, accurate scholarship, keen perceptions and delightfully subtle humor were stimulating and inspiring. Through his aunt and cousins he had such an introduction into the best social life of New Haven as would have been impossible had he been confined strictly to college walls. Fifty-six years later, his cousin said of him in a letter of pleasant reminiscence, "You have mentioned many activities: I can say he never seemed hurried or worried amidst them, but was always ready to lend a helping hand to whatever was going on in the family, and was just like a son and brother to us all."

His college life was a full life. He was a thorough Yale man and deemed no Yale interests foreign to him. He maintained an honorable position in scholarship, but was not a recluse, and his education was on broader lines than those of the college curriculum. Every hour not required for prescribed duties was so fully occupied with other affairs that he had "not time for so much as a walk in the woods," but found his recreation in change of occupation.

As an undergraduate he was sensible of the obligation

resting upon the student for the maintenance of the honorable traditions of the college and for the advancement of sound learning. His dissertation at the Junior Exhibition was on "The Poetical in our College Life," and at the beginning of his senior year he said in a letter, "I had the pleasure last night of delivering before the three literary societies, Brothers in Unity, Calliope and Linonia, an oration on 'The Claims of Yale College upon its Undergraduate Students.'"

"Biennial examinations," introduced in his sophomore year, more rigid and exacting than former methods, were regarded by some, in the words of the song of the day, as "a bore," but he believed them to be valuable and instructive. So, also, he cordially approved of a new method of instruction in rhetoric and elocution, by which the student was required to write what he had to say on a given subject in the limits of a single page and declaim it before his class. This, he was sure, would commend itself to his father as a good exercise in the art of brevity and condensation. At this time also he said, "I am more interested in my studies than ever before, particularly in mathematics."

In his senior year the study of Latin and Greek was not required, and the students were permitted to take as "optionals" such studies as they preferred. Daniel chose surveying, "not merely for the purpose of being able to make surveys, but so as to understand them when they are made." Was this a foreshadowing of the Venezuela Boundary Commission?

He also took as optionals Astronomy, Optics, Logic and Ancient History. "I am interested," he said, "in every one of these studies, and have never before taken so much interest in entering enthusiastically into all the college requirements."

Before the end of his freshman year he and some of his

classmates organized an afternoon Sunday school for children of the less favored class in the lower part of New Haven, and his interest in it was unabated throughout his college life. The purpose of the teachers was not to give strictly religious instruction alone, but generally to promote the moral and physical well-being of the boys and girls who came under their influence. His father, always deeply interested in similar work in New York, where he was one of the founders of the Home for Friendless Boys, the Children's Aid Society, the Juvenile Asylum, and a "Boys' Meeting" on Sunday afternoons, fully sympathized with Daniel in this work, and many were the conferences they had, continued late into the night, on the best ways and means of extending it. At the outset Daniel said, "I believe we all understand that a great deal of persevering work will be necessary, but if we can add to the happiness or the goodness of even a few we shall be well paid. . . . I am sure there is great need to teach those who are ready to work the best means of going to work." Hopeful and encouraging, yet cautious and prudent, his father said, "If you should see half as many plans checked as I have, you will find in many cases that the hindrance was a blessing, though at the moment unwelcome." There can be no doubt that the influence and example of his father were a powerful and life-long incentive to his progressive yet conservative philanthropic work.

A letter to his father, written in his last year at college, and relating to the Sunday-school work, has been preserved:

NEW HAVEN, May 24, 1852.

MY DEAR FATHER:

You will be interested in hearing that the annual meeting of the "City Mission" of N. Haven was held last evening & that a prominent topic of consideration was the "Davenport S. School." The Center Church was crowded, & Dr.

Bacon made a great speech upon the subject of doing good here in the city, dwelling at some length upon this Sabbath School enterprise. He gave with some minuteness an a/c of *his visit* to the School that very afternoon, & encouraged the teachers by his public remarks of approbation. He told the audience that he did not believe there were greater savages anywhere than some who were bro't under the influence of this School — yes not even in *Koordistan*! His idea, & I believe the city ministers all concur, is to have a building erected for a free church with convenient rooms for our S. School, sewing & singing classes, & an office for the city missionaries, who are to be dispensers of charities to the poor as well as of tracts & bibles to the destitute. A minister in addition to lay laborers he wishes to have employed, & all this done right away.

There seems to be no question that the enterprise wh. we started three yrs ago as a quiet *Experiment*, has the elements of success & that the churches are getting desirous of carrying on that & similar wks to a far greater degree than they have ever done before. I cannot tell you anything more than this bare announcement of the meeting, but will give you a fuller rept. when I see you.

Among other things Dr. Bacon came out very emphatically with the remark "It is a SHAME, yes my Hearers, it is a *SHAME* to N. Haven that a few young men at college in addition to their time & labor should be obliged to pay the expenses of such a school, especially that for want of a room in wh. to meet they should be compelled to hire a store at a rent of three dollars a Sunday, with the liability to be ejected at any time when the owner can secure a regular tenant."

What will be *done* after the talk remains to be seen. Meanwhile, our school has never appeared more prosperous. We have no trouble about noise. We have in attendance in this new room more than we have ever had before, — on one Sund. 84 schol. on another 91. — We have started (in a separate room) an infant class, (numbering 22 last Sunday) for which Miss Jane Skinner & others are desirous of securing Harriet's services, & have spoken to me in relation thereto. Please give her an official invitation to assume its

charge next Sunday. We have every wk. nowadays a sewing class at wh. twenty girls were present on Saturday & a singing class at a later hour with about 25 in attendance. The teachers are all I might say enthusiastic in their efforts, & have had one or two additions to their no. of great efficiency — Mrs. Dana is one. I want very much to have you see the school this summer & hope very much that you will be able to spend a Sabbath here.

Alongside this letter it is interesting to place one written a few months later to Charles Loring Brace, in which quite a different side of his religious nature is brought out:

NEW YORK, August 19, 1852.

MY DEAR BRACE:

Your letter of Sunday did not reach me until last evening or I assure you it would have been more promptly answered. Little did I think when I read of the Austrian adventures of our Pedestrian Correspondent and sympathized with his various and peculiar experience abroad that a year thereafter we should be journeying over Berkshire hills together with our friends, and should meet with such occurrences as would make us sympathize most closely and feel far more like brothers than like ordinary friends.

It was just like your own frank self to write so kind a letter to us on the Sunday after we parted. We thought and spoke of you several times upon that day and wished you had remained in Williamstown to enjoy the many things which we enjoyed, and it is pleasant now to hear from you that our many common interests were also on your mind. But I don't wish merely to thank you in a general way for writing as you did an expression of your sympathy, — but more especially to respond to the sentiments on Christian acquaintance which you there bring out. I agree with them most fully and only regret that I did not know at an earlier time upon our journey what were your feelings upon a few such topics. I tell you, Brace, that I hate *cant* and all that sort of thing as much as you or any one else can do. It is not with everyone that I could enjoy a talk upon religious

subjects. I hardly ever wrote a letter on them to those whom I know best. But when any one believes in an inner life of faith and joy and is willing to talk about it in an earnest, every day style and tone, I do enjoy it most exceedingly. Some day or other we will have a talk upon such matters and see how we shall agree. For one, I don't believe that all the almsgiving, useful as it is, is going to do one half as much towards reforming our world as the giving which President Hopkins talked about on Sunday, — the giving of kind thoughts and acts and words to those who are in need or trouble, in short, the giving of one's self. I learnt some lessons on our recent expedition pertaining to this very matter which I shall not soon forget.

You speak of our last evening together and wish we had had more such interviews with one another. How queer it is that we feel constraint ever upon religious matters and especially when the *avowals* of all are almost the same. Yet this very feeling of constraint or some other reason prevented that which would have given zest to all our other pleasures, but if we ever start off upon another such excursion we shall know better how to manage in very many ways. . . .

Throughout his collegiate course, and indeed at an earlier period, he was reluctant to be a burden on his father. He therefore improved at all convenient times every opportunity to engage in private teaching, and in newspaper and literary work. Even the skill in ornamental lettering with his pen acquired in his boyhood became remunerative in inscribing on their diplomas the names of candidates for academic degrees. He never waited for something to do; the thing to be done always came to him. The question was never what? but which? By these various means he not only contributed to his own support, but was enabled to indulge his generous impulses in promoting the happiness of others and in giving substantial aid to the undertakings in which he was engaged. Working with all his might for the

good of the cause, he was alike devoid of selfishness and of personal ambition.

The year following his graduation was by no means time misspent. Inducements to enter a business career did not strongly appeal to him, and so many fields invited him that he could not fairly be charged with neglecting the teachings of Foster's "Decision of Character" if he took his own time for reflection and selection. He had no lack of counsellors, and among them those who were least competent were the most forward to determine for him whether he should be a journalist, a librarian, a clergyman or a general philanthropist.

In reply to a question whether Daniel had "chosen his profession" his father said, "Why, I don't know; he is always working, rather than professing." This was most true. He was testing his strength; reconnoitering the ground; trying on his armor. In the autumn of that year he visited Boston and, under the auspices of Mr. Charles Folsom, had access to all the treasures of Harvard College and the famous private libraries of Mr. Prescott, Mr. Everett and Mr. Livermore. But, resisting strong temptations to engage in literary work in Boston, he returned to New Haven and occupied himself with teaching, with his own studies and with *Norton's Literary Gazette*.

A few months later he was enrolled as a graduate student at Harvard College. His home was in the family of Professor Arnold Guyot, where French was the spoken language, and physical and political geography an interesting theme.

In December, 1853, he and his life-long friend, Andrew Dickson White, sailed for Europe as attachés of the United States Legation at St. Petersburg under ex-Governor Thomas H. Seymour, minister plenipotentiary. Pending the arrival of Governor Seymour, whom he had preceded

by a few weeks, he traveled in England and, at a meeting of the National Public School Association at Manchester, by invitation of Richard Cobden and John Bright, delivered an address on "Common School Education in America" which, said the Manchester newspapers in fully reporting it, was "enthusiastically received." As one of his last engagements before leaving home was a visit to the largest and newest public school in New York, he was not unprepared for the occasion, which was remarkable not only because of his youth — he was not yet twenty-three years old — but because he spoke unexpectedly to strangers in a strange land.

The letters of Cobden — to whom he had had an introduction from his brother-in-law, Rev. J. P. Thompson — referring to this educational meeting are interesting:

MIDHURST, 3 Jany, 1853.

DEAR SIR:

The Education Conference is fixed for the 18th inst in Manchester. If it should suit your convenience to be present, I shall be most happy to meet you there. And if you could throw in a word to help us to imitate the wise tolerance of your common school system it might tend to the removal of the religious or rather the sectarian difficulty which has hitherto prevented us from establishing in this country any thing deserving the name of national education. I shall pass through London on my way to Manchester, & if it will suit you to be there at the time named, be good enough to let me know & I am

Yours sincerely,
R. COBDEN.

DANL C. GILMAN, Esq.

MIDHURST, 13 Jany, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR:

I hope you will address the meeting at Manchester. On a former occasion, at a precisely similar meeting, Doctor

Bacon delivered two speeches, & produced an excellent effect. Our difficulty is the religious question. Show the meeting how you reconcile the rights of conscience on religious matters & the demands of society for secular instruction. Give us some statistics of what you are doing in the States, & *shame* us out of our intolerance & supineness. Tell the meeting strongly — that you consider in America that all you possess that is most precious in social development & political freedom you owe solely, under providence, to your system of education —

I remain very truly yours,
R. COBDEN.

D. C. GILMAN, Esq.

AT G. MOFFATT's, Esqr., M.P.,
103 Eaton Square,
Thursday morning
[Jan. 26, 1853].

MY DEAR SIR:

I have pleasure in forwarding you a note of introduction to Lord Shaftesbury. — I am glad to learn that you were pleased with your trip to Manchester. For myself, I may say, that my part of the performance was sadly marred by the dreadful heat of the room, owing to which my brain seemed to lose its powers, & I was for a moment in almost a fainting state, & fairly lost the thread of my argument, a circumstance which never happened to me before. — All our friends were greatly gratified with your remarks. You could not have said any thing more useful & appropriate. Believe me

Faithfully yours,
R. COBDEN.

DL. C. GILMAN, Esq.

After nearly two months in England he went to Paris and, with the purpose of improving his knowledge of French before proceeding to St. Petersburg, was made at home in a family of French Protestants where not a word of English speech was tolerated. Twice a day, before

breakfast and dinner, each time for an hour, one of the young ladies of the family gave him a lesson in pronunciation, her mother sitting near by with a complacent smile of encouragement. In this way he progressed famously for several weeks.

Good as these people were and regular as they were in going to church on Sunday morning, they seemed to look upon him as a sort of singular puritan because he did not care to walk in the Champs Élysées on Sunday afternoon, or run to see the fatted ox of the carnival on Dimanche Gras. It did not grate upon their feelings to go on Sunday afternoon to a great children's ball in the circus of the Empress, at which some thousands of people assembled to see some hundreds of children dance. The sight would have formed a strange contrast to his father's "Boys' Meeting." — "But," he said, "it is hard to realize how different France and America are in this one particular, — the observance of the Sabbath. The education of the people, and all the associations, even of the Protestants, are as different as it is possible that they can be in a country which calls itself Christian. You must make your own reflections as I keep making mine."

This, however, was not the only phase of Parisian life that interested him. The excellent letters he had brought and the special courtesies extended to him by the resident legation introduced him to many places that are not easily accessible to all travelers, and also to many persons of distinction. Indeed, with studying French, "lion chasing," letter writing and visit paying, he was as busy as he had ever been at home, was "never in better health and spirits, and never felt that he was learning more."

In letters to his sisters he gives a very full account of two great social gatherings which he attended on successive evenings. The first, in some respects the greatest fête of

the year, was given at the Hôtel de Ville by the Prefect of the Seine, in the name of the City of Paris:

The idea in giving this fête in the name of the City of Paris seems to be that it will be beneficial to the tradesmen and working men of the city, and surely if it is beneficial to them to have the wealthy expend immense sums in equipage and dress, they must have reaped great gains last evening. Three or four such entertainments are given annually by the city, and those who have had good opportunities of judging assure me that the effect of the fête is much more magnificent than the receptions and balls at the Tuileries. Some seven or eight thousand invitations are given out to each of these entertainments, and if you will estimate not only the expense which the city of Paris incurs in lighting and decorating the saloons, in providing abundant and costly refreshments, and in furnishing the necessary attendants, but also the outlay, greater or less as the case may be, which is made for dress, gloves, jewelry, carriage hire, &c., by every one of those eight thousand visitors, you will derive some notion of the amount of money which is put in circulation every time such an entertainment is given. How wise the outlay may be considered as a matter of political economy I leave for others to discuss. I am only about to give an account of what I saw; the moral of the tale you are abundantly able, if you choose, to draw for yourself. . . .

Our cards of invitation named the hour of eight o'clock, but it was nearly eleven when we took a carriage at the Hôtel de Douvres. So many carriages are employed on such occasions that the strictest police and military arrangements are necessary to secure general order. General convenience is entirely out of the question. About a mile from the Hôtel de Ville the police arrangements were first manifest. Certain streets were assigned for the entrance of carriages and others for their exit, so that with the Hôtel de Ville as a centre there were numerous trains of public and private conveyance extending out in every direction in radii of a half mile and often of a mile in length. We drove as near as possible without falling into one of these trains, and then preferred walking to waiting, as people often have to

do, two or three hours within a short distance of the place, before their turn will arrive for entering and alighting. At every corner for a long distance were stationed horse guards, foot soldiers and policemen who secured the utmost order.

Entering by the main entrance we found ourselves in a saloon of one or two hundred feet in length, upon one side of which were innumerable small rooms for depositing coats and shawls, and on the other behind a slight railing was an amusing group of several hundred coachmen and footmen, who had waited upon private persons to the ball and who were now waiting for their return.

Leaving this first saloon on the ground floor we ascended a short staircase, the sides of which were lined with beautiful shrubs and trees growing luxuriously. At the head of the stairs was a sheet of falling water, some twenty feet in length, and near it one or two beautiful jets. All around these waters were a profusion of flowers, brilliant lights, and exquisite statues. Leaving this place we ascended a magnificent flight of stairs upon nearly every step of which was a soldier of the Imperial Guard or an usher of the occasion, all dressed in most brilliant uniforms. From this flight of steps we passed into the reception room where the prefect of the Seine (in uniform) and his wife, attended by the mayors of the different arrondissements (thirteen in number) were stationed in stately array. Each person on entering exchanged salutations separately with the prefect and his lady and then generally with the row of attendant officials — passing on to the Grand Ball room, which furnished certainly the most brilliant [display] of diamonds and the richest dresses that I ever formed an idea of. Among the gentlemen were all ranks of military costume, court and diplomatic dresses, as well as the ordinary evening dresses, but as for the ladies' dresses, I shall not even attempt so general a description as that. You can imagine what it was much more accurately than I can describe it. What astonished me most in regard to it was the profusion of jewelry. I trust, however, that I am not wanting in gallantry to the French ladies when I say that I think I have seen more of fine looking ladies at a party in America than I saw amid all the brilliancy of this great fête. . . .

The letter goes on to describe with an accuracy and vividness which show both his interest in the scene and his desire to convey it to his correspondent, the brilliancy of various features and the care and thoroughness of the arrangements for comfort and safety. "As I said at the beginning," he writes in conclusion, "you must make your own moralizing on the contrast between American and French society."

The second occasion, described in a letter of February 23, 1854, was that of a reception ball by the Emperor and Empress, the going to which had involved a problem of no little difficulty, the question of diplomatic costume for Americans having assumed "such an especially delicate character here in Paris, that Gov. Seymour declined being present and his secretary and myself were consequently not willing to take advantage of the facilities which were otherwise open to us." How he solved the problem does not exactly appear, but it seems that, after having given up all idea of going, a plan occurred to him "the result of which was that I went to the Palace last evening and saw the splendor of the French court, without having made any compromise of Gov. Seymour's position on the subject of diplomatic costume. . . . I had engaged to dine with a party of friends, so that I was occupied until nine o'clock; I then had an hour to dress, in what costume I shall not now say, and at ten o'clock I was at the Tuileries." His letter gives a very graphic account of the forms of presentation to their Imperial Majesties and of the general character of the occasion.

His route to St. Petersburg was through Berlin, where he met his college classmate, Jacob Cooper, and also Professor Noah Porter of Yale, with whom he had an interview of great interest which will be referred to hereafter. He arrived in St. Petersburg, March 24, 1854, in nine

days from Berlin, the minister and his suite having been cooped up in a diligence with no little discomfort for six days and nights from Warsaw, driving post-haste and stopping only to change horses.

Americans in Russia at this time were treated with the most distinguished consideration, the greater because of the impending war with England and France; and as at Paris, so at St. Petersburg, his relations with the legation gave him unusual facilities for seeing under exceptionally favorable conditions all that he most desired to see in that great capital. Under special escort and with special honors, the minister and his attachés had access to the most important institutions controlled by the different departments of the government, the reformatories and technical schools, the arsenals and great hospitals, the imperial library, the lyceum and other institutions of learning.

As the eyes of the world were on Cronstadt at that time, especially noteworthy was a visit to that great fortification, and to the Russian fleet of thirty-two vessels lying in the channel. Under the escort of the admiral himself, he inspected the flagship thoroughly, from the admiral's cabin to the quarters of the seamen.

The following letter, one of many, is a single chapter of his interesting experiences in St. Petersburg:

ST. PETERSBURG, June 19, 1854.

. . . You may remember that in some of my other letters I have intimated that although I had very good opportunities here for making acquaintances, I found some difficulty in visiting public institutions. Not that admittance was anywhere actually refused, but that a multitude of forms were necessary before the desired entrance could easily be effected. At length however the door is opened and every day brings me some new opportunity of seeing and learning in regard to one or more of the magnificent institutions with which this city abounds. . . .

In striking contrast with America and England everything here is under Government control, and not merely in a general way, but in the particular administration of what would seem to us quite insignificant details. The Emperor and Empress and their children, the Grand Dukes and Duchesses, are the acknowledged heads of all sorts of educational, benevolent and charitable institutions. Some of these are in direct relations with the Imperial family and others only through Ministers of the crown, but instead of there being one Minister as in France and Belgium to whom such things are referred, they are here divided among all. The Minister of War has part, of the Navy another part, of the Appanages still another part, the Minister of Public Instruction has control of the fourth, and so on. Now when I tried to visit such establishments, I found I could not see each one by simply applying to the Janitor, or asking the Director, but each request had to be referred to some one of the highest authorities. You can imagine that this was a slow and not very satisfactory mode of procedure. So when Mr. Seymour was fairly established and the members of the Legation had been duly presented to the Emperor, he had the kindness to address a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Nesselrode, stating my desires and requesting leave for me to see the public establishments of St. Petersburg, of which I subjoined a most copious list. Count Nesselrode read it over with Mr. Seymour, and rolling up his forehead in a way quite peculiar to himself, took off his spectacles and replied: — "Oh, yes, certainly; I did not know we had so many. I will write to them all." Mr. Seymour said that if he would give me one general letter of introduction or authorization it would be quite enough, but no, he said, it would be better to write to each one separately. So in a few days after, a huge diplomatic letter sealed with the double-headed eagle was left upon Mr. Seymour, stating in the most formal manner that the requests of Mr. Seymour in behalf of Mr. Gilman had been referred to his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Héritier, and that he had directed that all the military establishments should be shown to Mr. Gilman. This was followed a few days after by a similar note stating that his Imperial

Highness the Grand Duke Constantine had given similar directions for the navy schools. A third came from the ministry of war, and the fourth from the ministry of the Appanages, all of course "seizing the opportunity to renew to Mr. Seymour the assurance of the most distinguished consideration."

These letters were followed by calls from various officers, who said they were appointed to arrange the day and hour of the visits to one and another of the establishments. The time being agreed upon, the officers one by one have returned at the day appointed and have very kindly waited upon me in their own carriages to the different establishments. In this way I have now visited the different military corps, some eight or ten in number, the naval corps, the Lyceum, corps of pages, the school of agriculture and so on, while I have appointments for quite a number of other institutions.

I am entirely unaccustomed to so much politeness as is evinced and although I am perfectly well aware that these special attentions are intended by the authorities as a compliment to the Legation, and through it to the country of which it is the representative, yet I esteem myself particularly fortunate in having the opportunity to go about so fully, in a way which other travelers, if I may judge from their books, have very seldom enjoyed.

Everywhere I go, the Director of the Establishment, who in the military schools is a Lieutenant General or Major General, and in the other professions is of corresponding rank, is waiting at the door in full dress uniform, attended by his full staff. These higher officers without exception speak French and there is now and then one who also speaks English. They all go through the whole establishment, pointing out every detail and answering every question with very great fullness. In the kitchen they insist upon my trying the soup or other dishes which may happen to be preparing, in the lodging rooms they insist upon showing the condition of the bedding, and, droll as it may seem, in the school room some boy is summoned to throw off his outer garments and exhibit the excellent order of that part of his apparel which is not ordinarily exposed to a visitor's

gaze. With one or two exceptions the scholars have never been in their classes at the time of the visit, and as Russ would have been there employed it would have been of little aid to me in obtaining a notion of their proficiency. The boys are generally arranged in their sleeping rooms, each standing by the side of his bed, and, as the visitors pass through, they fall in the rear so that by the time the examination of the establishment is concluded, a long procession numbering several hundred is formed, who come down to the door and bow in parting with almost overwhelming politeness. . . . At one of the corps, an institution for training officers of cavalry, I was introduced to half a dozen separate lads, and when I was about leaving, one of them came forward and made quite a speech, in behalf, as he said, of his companions, thanking me for the visit, and hoping that when I "returned to my distant native land" I would sometimes think of them.

Another time one of the boys requested the favor of an autograph, at the same time presenting his book. As there was no furniture in the hall, I was looking for something on which to write, but in a moment his back was before me and the officers requested me to rest upon his shoulders. At another school, the head officer was a very entertaining old man. He told me that he was as familiar with American History as with Russian and asked a number of knowing questions about our country. In speaking of the Revolutionary heroes he said he considered them as "Saints," and in bidding me Good Bye he said if he was not a Russian he should wish to be an American. His dislike of the English was not less striking, evinced among other things by his taking me to the Hall of Military Practice, where the older class of boys are having their final lessons in shooting and are almost eager for the fight. . . . I will give you an account of a different sort of visit which I made a short time since. It was a call upon the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, whose position is nearer to that of the Pope than is that of any one else in the Greek church. I had a great curiosity to see him and was endeavoring to arrange it, when Mr. Seymour expressed a desire to do so also. We contrived to let the Metropolitan know our wish, and he

fixed an hour for receiving us at his residence in the monastery of St. Alexander Nevsky, almost out of town at one end of the Nevsky Perspective. The entrance to the monastery took us first through a cemetery, then over a canal by which the emperors used to come upon their visits, and then through a beautiful court, beneath the shady trees of which the monks were quietly strolling. The busy world is quite shut out from this beautiful yard, surrounded as it is by chapels, cloisters and seminary halls. The Metropolitan lives in princely style, numerous servants were in attendance to usher us up the stairs and into one of the parlors where the Metropolitan was waiting to receive us, attended by a young man of English descent, though of Russian service, whom we had expressed the desire to have present as an interpreter. His Eminence then led us through two or three saloons of great magnificence, adorned with cornices beautifully gilt and hung with admirable paintings, to a room which was still more handsomely furnished, and there he requested us to be seated. He was a man of fine appearance and of what I suppose might fairly be called patriarchal mien. His hair was slightly gray and hung in flowing locks upon his shoulders behind, while his beard extended to his breast in front. His dress was a long loose gown of rich brown silk, and on his head was a high white hat from which a rich crape veil fell down behind. On the front of this cap was an emerald cross, another hung around his neck, two brilliant decorations were worn at his side and a very rich rosary and cross were held in his hand. He was not very talkative but inquired about many things in our country, asked about our forms of worship and told us some things about the services of his church. Unfortunately, he seemed quite as much afraid of Mr. Seymour's rank as Mr. Seymour was of his, and the visit was less free than it would otherwise have been. At its conclusion he told us that an Archimandrite of the monastery who had been ten years in Pekin would show us the Chapel and the Treasury. This last man was one of rare intelligence and information, and I hope to meet him again. As it was, I had a long and pleasant talk with him. I can give you no idea of the riches accumulated in this monastery. Robes for the

priests, mitres, episcopal staffs or crosiers as I think they are called, communion services and shrines, all enriched with pearls and diamonds in untold numbers and of inestimable value, are hoarded here with singular delight.

All this time he was a regular correspondent of four American newspapers. This work was the easiest way of earning his bread and butter, but was so distasteful to him that he wrote, "my great eagerness to go home is a detestation of writing letters for print, and I do not think I can stand another winter of it. It is, as you say, worse than writing book notices, and that is too dissipating for any good mind to follow long. When I return I shall avoid it as much as possible."

Family affection was strengthened by constant correspondence with his sisters, — especially with his elder sister, Maria, who for many years was, without exception, his most intimate and affectionate counselor and confidante.

To her, more than to any one else, he opened his heart, and disclosed his doubts, his fears, his hopes and his aspirations. Her warm affection, her sympathy, her clear perceptions and her wise counsel, at this period when he was seriously deliberating on his future course, did more than anything else to clarify his opinions and bring them to a just conclusion.

Writing to her of their trip to Berkshire County in 1850 he said forty-four years later:

The world looked very full of mystery then, and so it looks today: mystery in every direction quite as great to the eye of science as to the eye of faith. It also seemed to be a place for useful activities, and so we have surely found it. As I look back over the interval I am very conscious of the good influence of my three older sisters, and I am only sorry that with such influences I did not turn out better. Nevertheless, to you and to those that are gone I

am day after day profoundly grateful. Your allusion to "the future" that awaits us all reminds me of General Armstrong's last words. You may remember that he said, "How will the next world seem? Perfectly fair and natural, no doubt. We ought not to fear death. It is friendly."

Mediaeval art and poetry and theology, from Dante to Milton, seem to me to have fixed on us moderns burdens which can be removed by going back to the Gospels, or by becoming as little children.

He wrote to her from St. Petersburg in April, 1854:

Goodyear's proposal was "providential" indeed. It has relieved me in part from the necessity of letter writing, and without it I never should have come here and should have lost one of the most interesting countries in Europe. . . . And what *do you think I am "keeping" for?* Tell me, some day when you write, for every year makes me feel that I must draw nearer to a point. When I go home to America I must have some definite notions. Day and night I think of that time, and in all I see and do I am planning for being useful at home. I find my wishes cling more and more towards a home in New England, and I long for an opportunity to influence New England minds. If I am an editor, New York is the place; but, to tell the truth, I am a little afraid of its excitements, its politics, its money-making whirl. I look therefore more and more to the ministry as probably the place where I can do more good than anywhere else: that is to say, if I can have a congregation which will let me preach such things as we have talked over so many times in our up-stairs confabs. I am glad you remember those talks with pleasure, for I look upon them as among the greatest "providences" of my life. If ever I make anything in this world or another I shall owe it to the blessed influences of *home*. For me, it seems as though new notions and wider views of men and things were crowding upon me with wonderful rapidity, and every day and almost every hour I think of some new thing which I wish to have accomplished in America. . . . I find my thoughts,

unconsciously, almost, dwelling on the applications of Christianity or the principles of the New Testament to business, study, public education, political questions, travel, and so forth. I had a long talk with Mr. Porter in Berlin (it was three days long with occasional interruptions) on topics related to such as I have named, and he assures me that there are many places in New England ripe for the advocacy of some such views upon these questions as I have often hinted to you at home. I told him a great deal about my thoughts on such things, talking quite as freely and perhaps more fully than I have ever done with you girls at home. He seemed exceedingly interested. I told him that if I should become a minister I should want to preach about every day affairs — not in the style of H. W. B. if I could get above it, but in a more dignified manner — and that instead of dwelling long and regularly upon such points as original sin and the doctrine of election, I should urge the practical application of the Bible to common events and daily habits. Most of all I told him I should abjure cant, and the “technicalities” of theology, and that I should make my one great text — “Pure Religion and undefiled is to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world.” But I told him I was afraid to begin — lest I should not succeed, and lest if I should succeed according to what seemed to me right principles — proper clergymen who are accustomed to preach upon abstractions would “read me out of meeting.” I cited Dr. Bushnell, H. W. Beecher and others — but he convinced me that what was objected to in them were unnecessary excrescences, so to speak; in the one case, mystical doctrinal views; and in the other rough, crude and undignified forms of expression — both of which faults are easily avoided. He told me that the kind of preaching I spoke of was the kind now needed — the kind which would be most influential of good — and on the whole he encouraged me to attempt it. I feel more and more desirous to do so, and shall keep on, in all I see and hear abroad, with the examination of every influence now working upon men — churches and schools, politics and literature — and if I can, when I return to America, be useful either as writer

or as speaker in promoting the spread of Christian principles, and their application to every matter *great and small*, I shall be delighted indeed. Let me know what you think about these things — I express myself very freely, altho' somewhat indefinitely — the latter, because I regard what I am saying as only supplementary to what I have often talked to you about before.

Writing in a similar strain some time later from Berlin, he said:

I am eager and sometimes even anxious to decide upon a definite course of active life, that is, to make choice of some position which I will aim to fill. But Mr. Barnard and Mr. Porter, separately and together, (for they met not long ago in New Haven,) say, "go on as you are now doing, and never fear for the future, there will be scores of open places even if you do not study a profession." So too comes your letter. "As it was in the beginning and is now, so shall it ever be!" "You are to supply emergencies and fill up gaps!" Alas! human nature is tempted to exclaim, for the gratification of ambition, and hail to the rewards that come from being generally useful and particularly useless! But, seriously, it is a great question with me whether I ought not now to choose a particular calling and endeavor in due time to fill it. Generally at my age this certainly should be done, and shall I be more useful by being the exception? . . . For some things I rejoice to find that my notions grow more and more definite. For instance, in the desire to act upon the minds of men, to do my part, even though it may be but little, for the elevation and improvement of such society as my lot may be cast in. It seems to me I care less and less for money and for fame, but I do desire to use what influence I can for the establishment of such principles and the development of such ideas as seem to be important and right. Whether this is done by the voice or the pen, or by both, whether in the pulpit or in the college, at the Cooper Union or in the Mercantile Library, in the editor's chair or in the office of a common school superintendent, cannot, I suppose, for many months, perhaps

for many years, be decided. Meanwhile, there is enough to keep me busy, and if ever a man had occasion to trust in the friends who have suggested these different occupations it is surely I. "Now," they say, "master French and German to speak and write both," (in itself a two years' work!) "attend several courses in the University," "visit and study every country in Europe," "make friends in every city with whom you can hereafter correspond," "see in person all educational establishments, prisons, asylums and the like," "live abroad five years, come home with a degree of Doctor of Philosophy unchanged in American sympathies and New England habits, and some gap will be open for you to fill!" Well, there is "destiny" for you! I beg off from the accomplishment of one half of this, and shall look in the end for only half a gap! Seriously, however, I am not so unsettled as my tone of writing might seem to indicate. I know what to do for the present, and the rest I shall leave to an overruling Providence.

His happiness in St. Petersburg was greatly enhanced by his affectionate intimacy with the family of William Ropes, an American merchant long resident there, and with them he became an attendant upon the American Chapel, where the services were conducted in the manner familiar to him at home. This brought him an interesting proposition, of which he wrote to his sister:

In respect to this Chapel — I have something to say to you in confidence. The pastor, Mr. Ellerby, is about to leave for England, and next Sabbath is his last. Those of his congregation who remain are troubled as to what to do. There is no clergyman here to whom they can look, no theological seminary on which they can depend. How it has happened I cannot imagine, but last week one of the deacons applied to me, asking whether I would not conduct the services between Mr. E.'s departure and my own. I told him I had never had a theological education and was but very little accustomed to public speaking, and for these as well as other reasons I must decline. But this refusal

he has not been willing to accept and has made the request in so urgent a manner, and with such assurance of the good which might be done, that I am sorely puzzled as to what to do. Preach — I cannot. — Talk I might, but I fear it would not be to the acceptance of the hearers. Still, if I take the hint of your note, and follow after all possible indications, I am not sure that I ought to insist upon refusing. If I decide to accept the request, I shall probably speak of it in another letter home, but if I do not, there is no need of any one hearing of what I have here said. The matter must soon be decided. There is one verse upon which I know I could talk — “Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee.”

He never decided that it was best to assume the position thus urged upon him, especially as he was only to remain in St. Petersburg a short time after the departure of the regular preacher.

He passed the winter of 1854-5 in Berlin, where he established lasting friendship with many distinguished scholars, among whom were Professor Pertz, the historian and royal librarian, and, in the department of physical and political geography in which he was specially interested, with the eminent Karl Ritter; also with F. Adolph Trendelenburg and with Professor Karl Richard Lepsius.

A letter from Berlin furnishes a picture of the Christmas festivities at which he was a welcome guest.

BERLIN, December 26, 1854.

Sometimes, as you know, I feel quite homesick, and think that because my friends are all newly made they are no friends at all. But this I am well aware is not the case, for no one has more reason than I to rejoice in the number and the kindness of the friends I have made in Europe. You will say so when I tell you of the peeps I have had at the Christmas festivities of Germany.

A week ago today, I received a very friendly note from Mrs. Dr. Pertz, saying that if I had no other engagement

for Christmas it would give her great pleasure if I would dine with the Doctor and herself. I returned an immediate reply, accepting of course, as there is nowhere in Berlin that I should have preferred to dine upon that day. It was well I did so, for very soon afterwards another invitation for Christmas dinner came in from another German professor, and various other invitations of more or less formality followed, all but one of which I declined. I wanted, to tell the truth, to see as much as I could of the German social life and think I made a very wise choice. At any rate no one of the Americans now in Berlin has seen such a sight as I enjoyed. The summons was "to drink a cup of tea at eight o'clock in the evening," so about half past eight I rang at the Professor's door. I found a large company of thirty or forty persons old and young assembled, but the children were all long before in bed. I had hardly paid my respects to the Herr Professor and the Frau Professor, before they said "now you must go to work as all the rest have done;" — "there are apples to be hung and candles to be mounted and gingerbread men to be placed in a state of suspended animation, and will you not help the good work." I was right glad to be greeted in so friendly a way, and indeed the looks of the room quite prepared me for the laborer's salutation. Every one was busy. Learned Doctors were working as diligently as if they were "digging out Greek roots," and the good natured Fraus were plying their fingers as busily as if they were engaged in their favorite occupation of knitting. At one side of the room stood a noble spruce tree reaching quite to the lofty ceiling, and which was already partially laden with its Christmas fruit. At the top of the high steps which stood near was a learned professor gravely arranging the trifles which other younger persons brought him, and looking in his philosophical dignity very much as you might suppose old Socrates to have done when surrounded by trifling sophists. At another table sat another grave Doctor, a fine looking man whose gray hairs looked as though he might have had much experience in Christmas festivities. He was gilding nuts to be hung upon the tree. Others were busy in arranging the lights,

others were engaged in decorating two smaller trees which were to be given to two poor families. But every one was busy, every one was merry, and every one seemed to be rejoicing in the return of the Christmas holidays.

When the decorations were over, Professor Lepsius drew the company into an adjoining room, and there, around the piano, a chorus of ten or twelve well trained male and female voices joined in singing some of the standard Christmas hymns of Germany. They did so with very great effect.

A little after ten, the waiters came bringing in two large tables, set out for supper, one of which they placed in each parlor. The company were invited to take seats, the married and older people in one room, the younger ones in another. You would have been amused at seeing the entertainment provided for the evening refreshment. Roast beef and apple sauce was the first course, a kind of fried doughnuts with fruit was the second course, and the third was the Christmas cake from Königsberg which the Frau Professor had just received as a present. Finally a glass barrel was brought in, holding about a gallon of some harmless kind of warm punch. This was served to all the company by the lady of the house, and finally one of the guests, a colleague of the Professor, rose and informed the company that this was not merely a Christmas but a birthday festival, Professor Lepsius being then so many years in age. He then went on and in a graceful way complimented the Professor host, his wife and children, and concluded by inviting all the company to join in wishing them health and prosperity. "Leben hoch!" said he to Professor Lepsius and his family. "Leben hoch," cried all the company, each one going glass in hand to touch the glass first of the Professor and then of his wife. Finally the host himself leaves his place and, after touching glasses with his wife, kisses her and then they drink to one another.

This was the closing ceremony, for the company soon after rose, each one saying to his neighbor on either hand, "Blessed be the meal time." Every one soon after shook hands with host and hostess, as if in repetition of the good wishes, and then about twelve the company dispersed.

On Monday, which was Christmas day proper, I saw the repetition of one or two trees, in all their brilliancy as good as new.

I mentioned accepting an invitation to Dr. Pertz's for dinner. There was not a large company — say ten persons in all, but the afternoon was passed most agreeably. There was a sort of combination here between English and German customs. The roast beef and the turkey and plum pudding were declared to belong to Old England, but the tree which was all in its glory of lights as we entered the drawing room from the dining room was said to be purely German. Here as at Professor Lepsius's the only things upon the tree were trifles which looked pretty. Upon the tables around were the gifts received by different members of the family. I was quite unexpectedly gratified by receiving a very pretty card case with the best wishes of Mrs. Pertz. I had no idea of being so remembered. At seven o'clock I bade this party good evening and hurried to Professor Braun's where I had been invited to see their tree at its second lighting. It had the same general characteristics as the others, with the addition of the Crib and the Christ Kind. After admiring all their presents, by which their tree was surrounded, I took tea with them and then excused myself to accept a third invitation of which I will tell you perhaps in another less lengthy letter. I passed as you see a very pleasant Christmas.

Before closing this chapter it may be noted that in all these years he was almost forced by circumstances to consider the question whether it was his duty to enter the ministry. From his youth up, he had been familiar with the doctrine and worship of the Congregationalists and of the denominations most closely allied to them; but as he grew older he became keenly interested in the work of earnest men in other religious bodies. Among these were the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, with his Sisterhoods in the Episcopal Church; the Rev. William Watson Andrews of the Catholic Apostolic Church (Irvingites); the Rev. Dr. Bellows,

the broad-minded philanthropist; Mr. Hecker, who maintained an Episcopal service in the lower east side in New York, with a ritual that was regarded by some as dangerously "advanced"; and the Paulist Fathers, seeking to convert Protestants to the Roman Catholic faith. But none of them appealed to him so strongly as to give just cause for the apprehensions of some of his friends that he might be led astray by strange doctrines.

He was not indeed prevailed on to become a Congregational minister; yet, in the hope that he might enlarge his usefulness by occasional preaching, he did make application for a "license," for reasons set forth in the following letter to his elder brother, who was a Congregational minister:

NEW HAVEN, July 10, 1860.

I have just taken a step of some personal importance in which I am sure you will be interested. I am not married nor engaged, but licensed to preach. You are aware that during the year past I have been following Professor Porter's lectures in Theology with a class of eight or ten young men, more than ordinarily industrious and intelligent. They went to the Annual Meeting of the New Haven Central Association and were licensed, a month ago, at a time when on account of my duties in college I could not break away. Last Tuesday, by special invitation as mine was a somewhat special case, I met the same association at Derby, — they suspended their rules, examined me, and finally voted me the usual approbation. You are aware that for a long time I have been considering the expediency of this step. Indeed Mr. Thompson invited me to meet the New York Association early in the spring, to which (on account of your connection and his with that body) I was naturally attracted. But I could not then quite see the way plain to take that step. Lately however it has been quite clear to me, that while I propose to remain in the Library, I should have increased opportunities of usefulness by preaching or by being ready to preach when invited. I do not at present

have any purpose of "entering the ministry," and so I have stated to all with whom I have advised, — but those in whose judgment I can most trust see nothing in my present pursuits as Librarian incompatible with the work of an occasional preacher, and have approved of my engaging in it. When asked by the Association to state my reasons for appearing before them I said candidly that I did not ask for a license in the usual form, as I was not a candidate for the Ministry, and had at the present time no purpose of becoming such, — but I asked that if upon inquiry they thought it would be wise for me to accept such invitations as often come to me, they would formally express their approbation. They first voted an approval of my purpose, and then examined me in all the Chief Doctrines, say for an hour or more, and then voted to give me a license in the usual form.

I did not foresee that I was adding so much as I fear I have added to my responsibility. Before leaving the Association I was invited to preach four times, and have now two more invitations. I declined the former summons, and my mind is not yet quite clear as to what course I shall pursue. I shall let the future decide. If opportunities of increased usefulness present themselves, I certainly ought to rejoice, and I think I shall not be wanting in willingness to improve them; but I feel an unaffected distrust of my power to instruct an audience, which makes me shrink after all from beginning the work for which by intellectual training — by reading, etc. I am not wholly unprepared. As I only desire to be useful I think I can safely go forward with deliberateness, and judge by and by better than at present, what course to pursue.

Your affectionate brother,

D. C. G.

Some of these invitations he may have accepted, but he never availed himself very largely of the faculty granted to him. He valued too highly the freedom, the independence of the Congregationalists to attach himself to any other church, however impressive might be its ceremonial, and he

never withdrew his membership from the Congregational Church established in Yale College.

These letters sufficiently indicate his desires and purposes at this critical period of his life. In what way and to what extent those purposes were fulfilled will appear hereafter.

As Commissioner from Connecticut to the Universal Exposition he spent the summer of 1855 in Paris, and after an absence of two years returned to his native land. He immediately re-established himself in New Haven, and was made assistant librarian of Yale College. His life there, uninterrupted for seventeen years except by a summer tour in Europe in 1857, will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

NEW HAVEN

GILMAN came back from Europe full of enthusiasm for work. He had written to his sister from Italy that what he most desired to do was to influence New England minds, but as yet no plan of life had shaped itself for him. The preacher and the teacher were both present in his nature and, as has been seen, he at one time seriously thought of entering the ministry. But though his religious convictions were deep and strong, and though the interest and activity in philanthropic work which he showed from his earliest years was never abandoned, yet that was not the cause to which he was destined to devote the full strength of his energies.

As we follow him through the period of years spent in New Haven, formative years of the greatest importance in determining the course his life should take, we shall see how all the forces of his nature, all the talents with which he was so plentifully endowed, were leading and compelling him into the line of work in which he was to become pre-eminent as a leader. At first no controlling purpose was discernible. Many paths enticed him, every opportunity was for him an opportunity to give willing and enthusiastic service, all the new ideas with which the times were rife found hospitable entertainment with him, and one activity ever led to another.

It seemed to some of those who knew him at this time as if a man who was apparently scattering himself in so many directions, who had so many irons in the fire, could not achieve depth and unity of purpose. But as we follow his

life from year to year and find him engaged in teaching, in raising funds, in administrative work in the college library and in the Scientific School, in writing for magazines and for newspapers as correspondent and critic, in lecturing on education in general and scientific education in particular, in serving on city and state school boards and on committees for any good cause, in making addresses to interest people in various enterprises and in appearing before legislatures to urge the adoption of those he had most at heart, we shall see that every one of these activities in which he was gaining the knowledge of an expert was an important factor in the development of his powers as a great organizer and director of education.

On his return to this country in the latter part of 1855, Gilman went immediately to New Haven and looked over the ground there. He was first employed in raising funds for the Scientific School, then at the point of changing from two or three unconnected departments into an organized whole, and the zeal with which he undertook this work was rewarded with substantial success.

He brought with him to the task a strong faith in what was then called the "new education." This subject was uppermost at that time in the minds of all who were interested in the problems of education, and many fierce battles were fought before the study of the laws of nature was allowed a place by the side of the studies which tradition had made dominant in our colleges. The very air was tense with excited feeling, and many were the slurs cast at the "bread and butter" sciences on the one hand, and at the "dry bones" of classical culture on the other. It was hard to convince the adherents of the old school that the study of science could train the mind. Gilman was one of those who could see the good on both sides, and he took an eager part in this discussion. He had also made a careful study

of several institutions in Europe where the "new education" had long been established with fruitful results. He not only believed in the cause, but he had faith in himself, and in his fellow men and in all efforts for progress. The fact that he had himself enjoyed a classical education and could speak for both sides made him a specially valuable ally to the Scientific School at that time and through all the years of his connection with it. His naturally genial and easy manner and address, which had been further developed by his year in the diplomatic service and his meeting with many men of distinction and importance, fitted him to meet strangers and interest them in his work, and thus was another factor which assisted materially in bringing the Scientific School and its aims before the public.

His family connection with the Sillimans — his brother had married one of Professor Silliman's daughters — brought him into intimate relations with another of the same family, Mrs. Dana, and her husband. Professor Dana was at that time giving much thought to the affairs of the Scientific School, and it was largely at his suggestion, and under his direction, that Gilman prepared the "Proposed Plan for the Complete Organization of the School of Science connected with Yale College," a small pamphlet printed for private circulation in 1856.

In this pamphlet, and notably in the appendix, entitled "Notes on the Schools of Science of Europe," we plainly see the results of Gilman's careful observations of technical and scientific institutions gathered in his two years of travel abroad. And here we meet for the first time the idea which he emphasizes again and again in later years, that it is important to gain a thorough knowledge of what is being done in kindred foreign institutions, not in order to copy their methods but to adapt them to local conditions and to the wants of this country as acknowledged by practical men.

These views are also brought forward in two articles published the same year, entitled "Scientific Education the Want of Connecticut," and "Scientific Schools in Europe," the latter appearing in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*.

The "plan" flew far ahead of what was then possible to the struggling and rudimentary Scientific School, but shadowed forth what since that time has been accomplished. Gilman preserved in his library a bound copy of the proof sheets of his pamphlet with emendations and corrections in Professor Dana's handwriting; and in a note written at the time, which still lies between its pages, he says:

In March last, by the appointment of the College faculty, I undertook to raise subscriptions for the School of Science. Upon inquiry it was soon found that other similar projects were already on foot in the state and it was deemed expedient to interest the friends of such schemes in this of Yale College. A meeting of gentlemen from different parts of the state was accordingly held in New Haven, the result of which, it is believed, was to prevent any further efforts for a school of science elsewhere in the state.

It became evident very soon that the plan of the school which it was proposed to establish here should be stated in some detail, and I was requested by the scientific professors to aid them in drawing up full statements of what was wanted. In connection with the preparation of these pamphlets, the publication of one of which was authorized by the corporation, I was occupied for some weeks.

Professor Dana was then requested to deliver a public address on the subject of the school of science, which he did early in the summer. By request of the Alumni Committee, the discourse was repeated at Commencement and was afterwards printed. The arrangement for the first of these meetings caused some delay in the progress of the subscription. . . .

At the beginning of the fall term, now closing, I entered upon the duties of Assistant Librarian in the college and, in accordance with a previous understanding, was obliged to

cease from active efforts in behalf of the School of Science. This I did with great regret, for much general preparatory work had been done, the fruit of which I should have been happy to reap.

Gilman became assistant librarian in the fall of 1856. The place of librarian was held by Edward C. Herrick, a most accomplished scholar, who had made the library a center of intellectual life for the college community. He had devoted himself to it exclusively for nine years, but in 1852 had been appointed treasurer of the college, and the duties of this office must have caused much of his work as librarian to devolve on his assistant.

At this time Gilman was living in rooms and taking his meals with other young officers of the college at the New Haven House. During his college course he had lived with his uncle Professor J. I. Kingsley, and later, in 1857, he lived with his cousin William L. Kingsley, the editor of the *New Englander*, a periodical to which Gilman contributed many articles and to which he constantly refers in his letters. He and Mr. Kingsley were very congenial, and bound together by intellectual as well as by family ties. Outside this little group of kinsmen he had a large circle of warm friends. Social life in New Haven has perhaps never been pleasanter than during the years which he spent there; it still had the simplicity of the early New England life, while made up of brilliant and interesting people, many of whom had studied or traveled in Europe and in many ways had seen much of the world. The years of the war, with all its stirring of emotion, brought friends still more closely together, and a common interest and object for which all were striving, heart and soul, drew him specially closely to the men who with him were to build up the Scientific School.

When Gilman first came among them this group comprised Professors George J. Brush, John A. Porter, Wil-

liam A. Norton, Chester S. Lyman, Benjamin Silliman, Jr., Samuel W. Johnson, and William D. Whitney. Later they were joined, among others, by William H. Brewer, W. P. Trowbridge, who went from Yale to Columbia, Thomas R. Lounsbury, and Daniel C. Eaton, whose marriage with the sister of Gilman's wife made another close tie for him in New Haven. Professor, later President, Dwight was another warm friend on whom he could depend for sympathetic comprehension of his aims.

Gilman was meeting Professor Brush daily at the New Haven House table and particularly enjoyed his company. With Whitney he had many points of contact, and as the years advanced the intercourse between their two families was frequent and intimate.

There was a bowling club where the members met for exercise and amusement, which had for a time a very lively existence. There were rides with some, and with others there were walks in every direction over the wooded hills of the neighborhood. Pleasant memories were long retained by both Gilman and Whitney of an expedition on foot through Litchfield County, on which one night was spent with old Dr. Gold, one of the pioneers of scientific agriculture in this country.

When Gilman entered upon his work as assistant librarian in the fall of 1856, the hours in which the library was open numbered only five, and while under obligation not to go on with the raising of funds for the Scientific School, he must have found the work insufficient to occupy the enterprise and energy which he possessed in such abundant measure. These gifts were soon usefully employed in behalf of the town which he had adopted as his home. In October he was chosen to fill a vacancy in the New Haven Board of Education, and received the appointment of Acting School Visitor, which carried with it the small stipend

of \$450 (later \$750). The duties and responsibilities of this position were somewhat undefined, but Gilman took up the work with his accustomed energy, and, before the three years in which he retained the post were over, had made it a place of such importance and influence in school matters that upon his retirement in 1859, when he urged the appointment of a man who could give all his time to the work, his suggestion was immediately adopted and the first Superintendent of Schools for New Haven appointed.

From the first, Gilman's reports as Acting School Visitor read very differently from those of his predecessors; they are not only much fuller but show both a wider grasp of the principles underlying the subject of education, and a familiarity with the whole range of it not often found in a member of a school board. It was a period of development in the schools of New Haven; at that time but five of the twelve were graded schools—that is, schools in which each room contained only pupils of the same grade—the others being like our present country district schools, in which children of all ages and all attainments were taught by one teacher, or, in some cases, by two teachers, in the same room. The advantages of the graded schools were only imperfectly understood by the general public. Gilman saw their great superiority over the other system and made himself their champion. In 1859, "as an answer to inquiries frequently addressed to the writer respecting the best plan for organizing a system of graded schools," he published an article on the subject which was appended to his report of that year and published in pamphlet form by order of the Board of Education, who voted that the Superintendent of Schools be directed to carry out its principles as far as possible.

His first year in his new duties was interrupted by a trip to Europe in charge of a lad of seventeen years, with whom

liam A. Norton, Chester S. Lyon, and Samuel W. Johnson, and William Johnson were joined, among others, by William Johnson Trowbridge, who went from New Haven to the middle R. Lounsbury, and Daniel C. Gilman. Their sister of Gilman's wife had been in New Haven. Professor Gilman was meeting another warm friend on who had the greatest thetic comprehension of the subject. He met with

Gilman was meeting with him at the Haven House table and with Whitney he had years advanced the book was frequent and interesting. There was a bowl

exercise and amusement existence. There were walks of the neighborhood maintained by both foot through the spent with old agriculture in the

When Gilman was in the full open number go on with the must have been surprise and measure. half of the October Board of ing Scho

land. He committee, the books for the middle later. Their few days they on Charles of the greatest produced himself He met with correspondence which continued later, themselves spent a year

March 31, '57.

correspondence must be saying. I look the pleasure of hearing reporting as far as I that is all I have to say. a short voyage, land- between just eleven days sends on the steamer, but recent and my two days in details. On the Conti- commence and then I shall know that I bought and sent Atlas. Please tell him \$200, which is more placed in my hands. your three households regards for Mr. Dana and

Yours truly yours,
DANIEL C. GILMAN.

Below are a few other letters written during this trip:

ROME, May 7, '57.

MY DEAR MRS. DANA:

I intended before this to send you a leisurely written letter, for although I have been something of a traveler I have not yet learned to abandon the hope of writing less hurriedly than usual; but thus far on my journey the moments of repose not passed in sleep have not been many, and I have neglected, not forgotten, several promised epistles. . . .

It is now three weeks since my arrival, a few days after Easter, but just in time to see the Easter illumination of St. Peter's, and the fire-works which were postponed for reasons that the public do not know. Much to my regret I found that most of our New Haven friends had already left for the more northern cities, the Salisburys, Whitneys, and Wheelers among the number. Dr. Welles and that part of his family still in Europe were here and have not yet gone, and as their rooms are close to mine in the Via Babuino, Piazza di Spagna, I find it very agreeable to take a New Haven cup of tea with them almost every evening. Last Sunday I met in the American Chapel my classmates, Bannard and Safford, the latter a particular friend. . . .

Thus far the days have slipped away very quickly. The number of antiquities, museums, churches and palaces which "must be seen," the number of pictures and statues which one remembers always to have heard of, is so large that a month seems too short a time even for a general survey of the city. I have declined several invitations to visit in American families and have not sought admission to any Italian circles, for I find that the evenings are passed most agreeably in reading up about the sights of the passing or coming day. The acquaintances I have made among Italian gentlemen have some of them been very pleasant and serviceable. . . .

One out of town excursion I have made which was very agreeable, to Hadrian's villa and Tivoli. The party consisted of Dr. Welles and his family, my two classmates, another American gentleman, and two English families. We left town at a very early hour, taking a picnic dinner

in true New Haven style under the portico of the Temple of the Sibyl and within sight of the beautiful cascades. The ruins, the natural and artificial waterfalls, the singular views of the campagna with St. Peter's in the distance, distinctly visible eighteen miles away, combined to make the hills of Tivoli one of the most charming places I have ever seen. No one wonders after such an excursion as we have just made, at the strong expressions of delight which Horace and Virgil employed in speaking of the ancient Tibur. . . .

From Rome I shall probably go by land to Naples, thence by steamer to Leghorn and by rail to Florence. Then I hope to proceed to Venice, the Tyrol, Vienna, Dresden, Munich and Switzerland. By that time I shall be quite ready to set my face homewards, indeed I should not be reluctant to reach New Haven by Commencement week, but of that there is no probability. . . .

VIENNA, June 8, '57.

MY DEAR MRS. DANA:

I arrived in this city on Saturday evening just in time to go to the bankers' and be disappointed at not finding there all the letters I had looked for. Bright and early this Monday morning on my way to present Mr. Dana's letter of introduction to Prof. Haidinger, I made enquiries again and found a large package of letters remailed to me from Italy. Among them was your welcome note of April 18th which gave me a chapter of New Haven news fresh and interesting. I wish I could believe all that you express about school matters and my connection with them. In the troubles of the Industrial School I sympathize but at this distance can do no more. It is quite right to say that our school law needs entire modification and I hope another year will secure suitable changes in many of its provisions.

Since I wrote you last I have made a great change from the cities of the past to those of the present. Italy I enjoyed far more than I had reason to anticipate, but what can I say about it in a letter that has not been better said a hundred times already? Every excursion which I made near Naples reminded me of the geological lectures at New Haven and of the stories which your father and his party

gave of their observations and adventures there a few years since. Beautiful as are the views near Naples, Florence would charm me more as a residence and Venice had greater fascinations to me as a traveler. We are (even as travelers in countries naturally beautiful) continually affected by the condition of the people and the character of the government. In these respects Naples seems to me the fag-end, not only of the Italian peninsula, but of the continent of Europe. Tyranny, corruption and misery raise their horrid heads at every corner.

But I am dwelling on what you know already and what after all did not rob me of great enjoyment in the climate, the landscapes, and the flowers, the fruits, the arts and the antiquities which have there such peculiarly local charms. I hurried away from Florence before I was ready to leave, in order that I might see Venice in the light of a full moon. If I had waited to exhaust the Florentine attractions I should not now be here. The south may be pleasanter than the north in winter, but the south cannot have in winter the beauties of summer. By avoiding the noon-day sun everything in nature may be seen now to much greater advantage than in the cooler months and yet the professional tourists are bound toward the north. . . .

Between Venice and this place there were two matters of interest, the great cave of Adelsberg which I penetrated for some two miles (visiting several new chambers which have only been known a short time), and the railroad over the Semmering Mountain, characterized by some Englishman as "the most magnificent piece of folly" in engineering which was ever constructed. Of my stay here I shall write a line to Mr. Dana, and I will therefore only add in diplomatic style, but not with diplomatic spirit, the renewed assurances of my most sincere regards for you and all your family circle.

To his sister:

FLORENCE, May 27, 1859.

DEAR MOLLIE:

You would have enjoyed very much a visit I have made this evening at the house of my college friend Clarke, who invited me to meet Mr. Kinney, for several years American

Minister in Turin, and Mr. Powers, the famous sculptor, and their families. There was no other company and I was fortunate enough to have a long conversation with both of these gentlemen. From the former, a person of great culture, long resident in Italy, shrewd powers of observation and common sense, I derived much valuable information in respect to the condition of Italy and the relation of the different states to one another and to the other states of Europe. Mr. Powers talked almost wholly on matters pertaining to art, and it was a rare treat to gather his opinions in an uninterrupted conversation of perhaps an hour and a half, all to myself. I brought him a somewhat special letter of introduction, which I presented yesterday in his studio. There he showed me all his works and gave me fully his conceptions. To-night our talk has been for the most part not personal but general. It began however with a reference to the injustice under which he is suffering from the wilful negligence of the late President to execute the resolution of Congress for the purchase of the statue of America. I will not here go into the particulars of what has seemed to me a great wrong ever since I learned, as I did some weeks ago, the facts pertaining to the order. From this he went on to talk upon one and another point connected with his profession, and you may value some of the chips which I picked up as he kept chiseling out his ideas.

No great work, he said, was ever done quickly. Ghiberti was forty years at work upon his gates of Paradise in the Baptistery here, but every figure is a study. Some artists have executed a multitude of works, but all that have value were made in no hurry. A statue is nothing but a poem in marble. How long was Gray in writing his Elegy, Milton his *Paradise Lost*, Virgil the *Æneid*? Nothing can be perfected in haste. People think that because Michael Angelo accomplished much he did not finish with care his productions. This is not the case, every thing he completed he finished. Raphael executed many pictures, but his great works are few, and those elaborately perfected. "I have been censured for finishing too finely, working too slowly, but I am sure I am right. That little bust of Proserpine cost me many weeks of hard thought. I used to dream about

it at night and work at it by day all of that time. . . . It has been a great favorite and I know it will live. I have repeated it forty times, ten copies of it are in England, but if I had put it into marble when I had only the first general notion of the face, it would never have been remembered. Sometimes I work for a week on a portrait bust, and people think it is completed, but I must work another week and another week before I can be enough satisfied to let it go. Were I to execute a colossal statue, I should deem two years a little while for moulding the clay. Nothing that I do satisfies me and yet I know I do my best. Every new work gives me more pleasure than its predecessor, for I see that I have made an advance."

"The great fault in teaching drawing is that the pupil is told to copy. This destroys his originality. He imitates his master's faults, he yields to his master's whims. The pupil should always, after learning how to make a straight line, draw from objects. If he is to make a painter he should learn to model. There is no method so good. Instruction should be given in mixing colors, perspective and so forth, but the pupil's best teachers are the works he sees around him and his own conceptions of what is beautiful and true."

P. S. May 29.

I wrote the above after returning from the visit which it records. Last night at the home of Mr. Powers, and tonight at the home of Mr. Kinney, I have had a similar treat. I have been quite charmed by Mrs. Kinney. She is a personal friend of Mrs. Browning, and is evidently on terms of close intimacy with her. Mrs. Browning has just lost her father and has seen no one for weeks. Mrs. Kinney showed me a copy of Casa Guidi with the corrections of the authoress. She gave me a full account of Mrs. Browning's life, and especially of her acquaintance with Mr. Browning. I feel as though I had seen the poetess, indeed I feel better acquainted with her by far than if I had been merely introduced. I will tell you a great deal more when I see you. Good Bye.

I am always affectionately yours,

D. C. G.

After his return from Europe Gilman was again appointed Acting School Visitor of New Haven for the coming year, and continued to give much time to the duties connected with that office. In order to raise the standard in the higher rooms of the graded schools, he substituted for, or rather added to, the oral examinations held by various members of the school board at appointed and non-appointed times, written examinations held at the end of both spring and summer terms, which change, he says in his report, "has been most efficient in its influence upon both scholars and teachers." Each room was examined at a specified time, and reports were made upon the standing of the various classes, to the classes, to the teachers, and to the Board of Education. Commonplace as written examinations in our grammar schools seem at present, they were a great innovation in New Haven at the time, and did much to make it possible to compare the various schools and bring them up to the same grade of efficiency, an end which Gilman had steadily in view. This year also his committee laid out a course of studies to be pursued in the better graded schools, and designated the text-books to be used.

A letter from him to his brother, written in January, 1858, shows a characteristic employment of his Christmas vacation in New York:

NEW HAVEN, January 11, 1858.

MY DEAR EDWARD:

I received early last week your note of the fourth and one from father and mother, as well as from W. L. K. I have since heard more particularly from you. I am sorry that I could not visit Boston in the holidays, but my time will come again by and by. I had a pleasant time at home. I visited the galleries of pictures, spent a considerable time in the Astor, Mercantile and Society Libraries, went out to Bloomingdale and to Williamsburg, had the remarkable pleasure of looking leisurely over Mr. Beecher's fine collection of prints, went on horseback to High Bridge with

Times Raymond, Tribune Dana, History Bancroft, and Angular Davies: passed an evening at Mrs. Blatchford's, attended service at the notorious Santa Farina, and on another Sunday with more satisfaction at the Irvingite Chapel. I also heard some fine music and saw as much, in the intervals, of our home and Lizzie's as circumstances would permit.

In 1858 Mr. Herrick resigned his post as college librarian in order to devote himself entirely to his work as college treasurer, and Gilman was at once appointed to take his place. He had now been two years assistant in the library and was thoroughly conversant with the methods of carrying it on and buying the books, as well as with its practical needs. The library at this time, though far advanced over the time of Mr. Gibbs, when it was only opened twice a week, was extremely limited in its facilities. The buildings consisted of one large hall for the college library proper, with two smaller halls for the Brothers and Linnæan libraries connected with it by corridors on either side. These society libraries in earlier days had been a very important factor in college life, and in 1840, according to the elder Professor Silliman, together outnumbered the college library proper by some eight thousand volumes. In the summer time, when both halls could be used, the building gave ample room for both librarian and readers. In winter, however, when the main hall was utterly without heat, and only one of the corridors heated, this one room must serve both as workroom for librarian and assistant and as reading room for professor and student alike.

The library was hampered in every way by lack of funds, and its utility was restricted by regulations that now seem ridiculous. The President, Fellows, members of faculties, graduates resident at college, members of the theological, medical and philosophical departments and Juniors and Seniors (the latter only on Mondays and Thursdays) were

privileged to consult the library and take books out. The students in both graduate and undergraduate departments were obliged to pay for the use of books borrowed from the library, twelve cents for the term of two weeks or less for each folio or quarto volume, and six cents for an octavo or smaller volume. The library was to be kept open during five hours of each secular day in term time, except the public holidays and the week before Commencement. Gilman immediately began to plan various reforms which he had been turning over in his mind, and one of the first of these was to make a more even balance between the accessions of the theological and the scientific and literary departments. He employed an assistant, under the impression that such was the intention of the committee in charge, and at once began to keep the library open longer hours.

Gilman's power of making everything that he studied and experienced contribute to his great central aim of education is well illustrated by the way in which he brought the interest in art inspired by his European trip into connection with his activity at Yale. In the spring of 1858 he was the leading spirit among a group of gentlemen who determined to get up a loan exhibition of works of art to commemorate the arrival of two marble statues, copies from the antique, ordered by the Linonian Society to adorn their hall. These statues were to be made in Rome under the superintendence of Mr. Bartholomew, but, owing to his death, did not arrive until the exhibition was over. The exhibition was held, however, and proved a notable event. Gilman was secretary of the committee and attacked the work with his accustomed energy, preparing the catalogue and writing it up in the papers. One of his friends, a member of the class just about to graduate, still remembers how Gilman provided him with a list of New York artists and persuaded him to go down and ask them if they would lend some of their pic-

tures to the exhibition. "They could not understand why I wanted them, not being an artist, and some of them looked at me as if I were a monkey!" The result of this expedition was not great; but owners of pictures in New York and Boston, and all through Connecticut, responded heartily to the invitation, and a collection of three hundred paintings and statues, and some fine engravings, was got together. The exhibition was open for two months, June and July, and a course of lectures was given in connection with it. Between six and seven thousand persons, not only from New Haven but from cities at a distance, visited the exhibition and the expenses, \$2,074, which seemed an enormous sum at that time, were covered by the gate money.

In an account of the exhibition, published by Gilman in the *New Englander* the next autumn, he says:

The exhibition of paintings and statuary made in the Alumni Building of Yale College during the past summer was in many respects so unique as to merit more than a passing notice.

It was a decided recognition on the part of the officers and friends of that institution that the fine arts may exercise an important influence upon the culture of college students and are deserving of careful attention during the progress of an academic course. The schools of New England have not been forward in making this acknowledgment, and æsthetic cultivation has by no means received that attention within their walls that has been bestowed upon other departments of scholastic discipline. . . .

The experiment of this gallery has shown that properly directed efforts may bring together a good collection of pictures and that the cost of the enterprise may be met by the usual charges for admittance. We believe that there are, scattered through New England, not to go beyond its borders, far more meritorious works of art than is generally supposed to be the case. We are persuaded that half the time and labor which is expended on a cattle show

might result, in almost any one of our larger towns, in an Art Exhibition not less attractive than the one of which we have told the story. Will not New Haven at an early day see a second exhibition? and will not other communities be excited to a kindred enterprise? . . .

Is it not a natural consequence of the general neglect of æsthetic studies that so many of the educated classes of the community are painfully conscious that their appreciation of the Beautiful has not kept pace with their love for the True and the Good? It is common to lament that in the masses of our countrymen there is so little love of the æsthetic; that our parks and promenades are so limited in extent and so bare both of natural beauty and artificial adornment; that our state houses and other public edifices are so frequently paste-board and stucco; that our churches present such disgraceful sacrifices to the "lamp of Truth" in their wooden spires and pillars without, and their meretricious colonnades of fresco within. But all such lamentations, just as they are, will have little effect till those who guide the public taste and sign the builders' contracts, till the influential members of ecclesiastical and political bodies, in other words, till educated men, yearly leaving our colleges in companies of thousands, are well instructed in the principles of artistic, as well as of literary taste.

Yale College has long enjoyed the distinction of being not only the first but the only college in the country to establish an art collection. It is greatly to be hoped that among the friends of the college some one interested in the Fine Arts will be encouraged to provide the means for the purchase of particular works or for the annual delivery of a course of lectures. We should rejoice to see in all our colleges successful efforts to secure the recognition of the Fine Arts as an important branch of academic discipline.

Among the contributors to the collection was Augustus R. Street, and it may well be that his intercourse with Gilman in regard to the loan of his pictures had something to do with inspiring the idea which he carried out a few years later, of presenting an Art School to Yale College; for, as

we shall see, he had Gilman associated with him on the building committee.

In the autumn of 1859 Gilman was chosen a member of "the Club," of which he writes in his life of James Dwight Dana: "Another less formal association has been, for more than sixty years, a social gathering of intellectual men which has no other name than the Club. It meets at the houses of the members at frequent intervals for conversation and discussion on science, politics and religion. Its earliest meetings were in 1838, and among its founders were: Dr. Leonard Bacon; President Woolsey; Professors Gibbs and Larned; Henry White, a well known lawyer; Dr. Henry J. Ludlow, a minister; and Dr. Henry A. Tomlinson, a physician. Professors Dana, William D. Whitney and George P. Fisher, all men of national distinction, were received in 1855."

He was also a member of various learned societies at this time. He was an early member of the American Oriental Society, and a constant attendant at its meetings as well as at those of the Philological Society, the Connecticut Academy and the American Geographical Society. He made an address before the latter Society in January, 1872, on "Geographical Work in the United States during 1871." When in Berlin he had studied under Barth and Trendelenburg and had published an article on "Barth and Livingstone in Central Africa" in May, 1858. He was keenly interested in all geographical matters, and during the years he lived in New Haven contributed many geographical notices to the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, as well as various longer articles on kindred topics to other periodicals.¹ These studies led very naturally to his appoint-

¹ The value and unusual merit of these articles on Geography in the *American Journal* is attested by the letter written to Mr. Gilman by the eminent geographer, Petermann, when he learned who the author was. See Chapter VI. p. 371.

ment later as Professor of Physical and Political Geography in the Sheffield Scientific School.

To his brother:

NEW HAVEN, December 2, 1858.

DEAR EDWARD:

I forget whether I mentioned to you that I had been chosen a member of "the Club," in whose discussions there has usually been so much life and spirit. I attended a meeting last night for the first time at Dr. Dutton's, the subject being Sawyer's Revision. About five and twenty persons were present, including two or three strangers. The President opened, and the Rabbi followed, while Bishop Bacon and a host of lesser dignitaries kept up a running fire. A great many sharp speeches were made and many good stories were told which cannot be repeated in a letter, but, in the serious discussion, poor Mr. Reviser was treated without mercy. . . . You would have enjoyed the whole discussion, especially the incidental remarks which were made by various persons on the popular desire for and against revision.

I have had a letter from Professor Guyot formally proposing to me to begin with him the preparation of geographies and I intend to accept and so shall decline the other propositions about which we conferred. . . .

We shall all be interested in hearing from you in Bangor and shall continue to wish you prosperity in your new undertakings.

NEW HAVEN, December 10, 1858.

DEAR EDWARD:

. . . There was another club meeting last night, Wednesday. Subject, President Buchanan's message. It was a less entertaining and instructive discussion than the previous. Two weeks hence, at Professor Salisbury's, Dr. Bushnell's new book is to be considered. Professor Porter opens. It promises well.

I lectured in Cheshire last evening to about three hundred people. I have nothing new from Professor Guyot.

NEW HAVEN, February 2, 1859.

MY DEAR EDWARD:

. . . I was much interested in the printed accounts of your installation and in Professor Shepard's historical sketch of the church. All New Haven is skate-crazy. Hundreds go to Saltonstall, clergymen (Dutton, Fisher, Littlejohn &c.); college professors (Salisbury, Whitney, &c.); tutors, lawyers, ladies, school boys, all join the fun. One day last week we had a flood followed by good skating. The newspaper said, "what need of travel? We have in New Haven on one day the pleasures of Venice, on the next those of St. Petersburg."

Gilman had now given up his rooms and was living with his cousin, William L. Kingsley, editor of the *New Englander*, who had married in 1857. He writes to his brother in February: "I have re-arranged with William. I am to dine at five thirty o'clock, *solus cum solo*, and pay proportionally. This gives me from one to three, daily, quiet in the library and adds full two hours to my working day. It will cost me more a good deal, but the outlay will be less than if I had taken a house, as I was on the point of doing."

His interest in religious and church matters, in which he was in complete sympathy with his brother, is shown by the following letter:

NEW HAVEN, June 6, 1859.

MY DEAR EDWARD:

I was not unmindful of the event to be commemorated, and mentally wished "many happy returns" to Julia and yourself. . . .

I like the drift of your discourse. I have thought at different times a good deal on the subject and agree with all you say. I think that the Masonic and kindred clubs are joined by church members because the church does not provide that social sympathy that is demanded. I have always delighted in the accounts of the lives of early Christians given by Neander, Schaff and so forth in their histories; by

Wiseman, Mailand, Northcote and so forth in their Catacomb books. Even Bulwer in the "Last Days of Pompeii," gives vividly a glimpse of early Christians. Our benevolent societies, our secular "un-sectarian" schools, our almshouses and hospitals, severed from religious influences, divert our church power. I don't believe the world will go back to the early days, but I think that ought not to prevent more fellowship than is now exhibited. But it is not easy, or rather it is too easy, to write letters on this subject. We must have a talk on it, after the Norwich celebration.

During the summer of 1859 Gilman prepared an historical address to be delivered at his native town, Norwich, on September 7, 1859, at the bi-centennial celebration of its settlement. The address was received with great interest, and was published first in a volume giving a full account of the celebration and later by itself with full notes, including some original documents which had never previously seen the light, and a complete index. In his concluding note he says: "I cannot refrain from saying that the interest which I feel in the history of Norwich is inherited. While it is pleasant for me to trace, on my mother's side, a descent from several of the original settlers of the town, my father's enthusiasm in historical inquiries is associated with my earliest recollections and has constantly assisted my recent investigations."

In his school report this year Gilman is able to announce the establishment of a High School in New Haven. The Board of Education had been authorized to buy a lot and erect a schoolhouse, suitable for the accommodation of eight hundred pupils or more, but after a long search no location could be found that commanded the approval of all the Board. While matters dragged on in this way, schools were overcrowded in the lower grades, many children being turned away, while the rooms containing the upper grades — the schools were supposed to teach children from the age

of six to sixteen — were comparatively empty. With his characteristic energy and inventiveness, Gilman suggested turning the highest grade rooms into primary ones and hiring others for a High School in the center of the town. This plan was followed, and was immediately justified by results. Gilman well says: "It is a fit subject of congratulation that, without wasting years in talk, without incurring great expense, and with increased advantages and accommodations in the primary schools, we have organized a High School which cannot fail to be an advantage to all classes in the community, especially to the poor, who can afford to spend time in acquiring an education, but who cannot, in addition to the school tax, pay for costly tuition." There had also been established a school for special cases, — "children who could not conform to the strict regulations of most of the public schools, and who are exposed to habits of vice and crime." Gilman had urged the establishment of such a school in his first report, believing that many of the children, after a few months of special preliminary training, would take places in the regular schools without injury to others and with credit to themselves.

He was instrumental in bringing about other important improvements, one of which was the consolidation of the three school terms into one school year, appointments being made for the year. He inaugurated the practice of keeping a regular office hour when inquiries could be made and business transacted in reference to the schools; and on the basis of his practice as a beginning, urged the necessity of the appointment of a competent man whose duty it would be to devote his whole attention to the supervision of the schools. This recommendation, as has already been stated, resulted in the appointment of a Superintendent of Schools.

The pamphlet on the "Idea of a Graded School," published about this time, contains much that is a commonplace

to us, but which in those days needed explanation and reiteration. Such, for example, was the term "graded school." Ignorance of the meaning of these words, as well as prejudice against the idea they stand for, has now disappeared from our schools throughout the length and breadth of the land. But there were also some recommendations put forward in the article that have not yet fully established themselves. He urged the necessity of a definite progressive course of study. "There is a most important field of inquiry, as yet but little examined in this country, concerning the relative importance of different branches of study and the amount of time to be given to each. To a very great extent neither teachers nor committees have a definite idea what sort of an education they are providing. They are working on no plan. . . . The progress of the scholar is continually retarded by having to go over and over again, as he advances from one room to another, what should have been mastered once for all. The text books provided are in part at fault, the lower books continually anticipating the higher, and the higher of course repeating the lower." This condition still prevails to a considerable extent in our public schools. He says further: "In selecting the studies we must continually remember that the object of the school is not to make learned boys, but strong men; not smart girls, but sensible women; . . . The pupil's judgment, his memory, his imagination, his accuracy of statement and clearness of thought should all be cultivated. . . . It is indispensable to a model school that all the scholars in each room should attend to the same exercises at the same time. The teacher should spend most of the school hours in teaching; not in seeing if the scholars can repeat the page by rote, but in showing them how to understand the words of an author or the facts of a lesson; not in teasing them with unnecessary questions, but in leading them to discover truth for them-

selves, and to express their ideas in discriminating language; in a word, to train their minds to habits of clear thought and wise judgment." "Here," he says, "is the key to German success in all matters of education." And lastly, a good graded school must have a competent master. There must be a chief in each schoolhouse who shall have power to direct all the assistant teachers, and who shall be held responsible for their failings, and such a man should be well paid.

The question of the curriculum adapted to children between the ages of six and twelve was one on which Gilman thought much, and in February, 1860, he delivered an address on this subject before the common-school visitors of the county, and the common-school teachers of the city, of New Haven, which is strikingly modern in its ideas. He again complains of the useless repetition whereby the dull scholars become perfected in their indolence and the bright scholars grow weary with endless repetition; and again asserts that in the public school system two objects are to be accomplished: "the first and most important is to train the mind, make men out of boys, to educate the judgment, the reason, the memory, the imagination; and the second and subordinate object is to convey such knowledge to the scholar as may be useful to him in life." He is confident that if, from the outset, thorough instruction were given upon a well digested plan, all that is now taught in our graded schools could be mastered with perfect ease, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, before the pupil had attained his thirteenth year. A course of study should be planned, he says, not only with reference to those who are to pass a number of years in acquiring knowledge, but also with regard to those whose opportunities are so limited that two or three years will include all their days of school instruction.

The points insisted on as to the course are that the Eng-

lish language should be the chief study of the common school, since no one can be a good thinker without a good command of language; that the eye should be trained to habits of close observation; that the simple study of geometrical figures should be included; that the hand should be disciplined not only to simple penmanship but to elementary drawing; that in the lower rooms such works as Dr. Hooker's "Child's Book of Nature" and in the higher rooms the elements of natural philosophy should be taught; that in the higher classes the study of history should be associated with that of geography; and that, while in our public schools religious instruction cannot be provided, there can be and should be a thorough course of teaching in morals. Speaking of the culture of the voice, he makes the important but perhaps hardly successful recommendation that more important than the cultivation of singing would be a culture which should eradicate the nasal tones and harsh accents too common in New England.

Professor Dana's health had become seriously impaired, and he and Mrs. Dana were to spend the following winter in Europe. This closed for Gilman a house where he had been received almost as a member of the family; but the friendship was kept up by letters which give us occasional glimpses of his life during the year.

To his brother:

NEW HAVEN, October 5, 1859.

MY DEAR EDWARD:

I am very glad to hear of your prosperous return. The recollection of your visit and of all the good events of this autumn will not soon disappear. The great thing now on our minds is the departure of the Danas, appointed as you know for Saturday. The Avenue is busy with the preparations, the excitement and interest extending beyond the home on the triangle [the Danas' house]. I mean to go to New York to see the party fairly off. Oddly enough I had an

offer today of expenses and so forth, if I would go for a year. But I did not dare consider it. I am afraid that if I had I should have accepted it. The President dissented from my going to Wisconsin and of course he would to a European tour, and as I am not prepared to cut entirely the cords which bind me here, I remain. . . .

The Norwich volume is going rapidly on. I shall spend next Sunday at home. With much love,

Affectionately yours,
D. C. G.

NEW HAVEN, December 6, 1859.

MY DEAR MRS. DANA:

. . . We had a lecture from Mr. Beecher on Monday, and the next morning he came to the College Library for the express purpose of seeing Mr. Dana's Zoöphytes and Crustacea, which he examined plate for plate with a degree of enthusiasm which would have gratified the Professor himself. "Well," said he, when he rose from his chair, "I wish Dana would come and live in my house and let me pump him." I have had a late letter from Mr. Guyot, who sends a greeting "to our excellent friends in Europe." . . . I have begun a course of six lectures on geography to be given once a week in the Normal School at New Britain. The whole school (120 scholars) attend and the High School besides.

The papers will show you how the whole land has been excited about John Brown. Insane as his effort was, his whole conduct since his arrest has been noble, and has elicited the admiration of friend and foe.

I have not time to add more except my regards to Mr. Dana.

Meanwhile, and ever, I am sincerely yours,
D. C. GILMAN.

January 20, 1860.

MY DEAR MRS. DANA:

Your most acceptable letter of December 2 reached me on Christmas Monday when all the family were assembled at my sister's home in New York. . . . My own plans have

been upset lately, I might say "the quarterly upset" has returned. I am invited to go to New York as an editor of a new daily journal to be established with an immense capital, strong supporters, and every prospect of success. I am tempted not alone by the pecuniary considerations, which are important, but by the prospect of usefulness in a wide sphere which the proffered position holds out. The department which I should have charge of would be what I most prefer, the relation of foreign countries to our own, not only European but all others, in which I should hope to make available all my geographical studies. In home matters I should have the oversight of what is said on Social questions, meaning by that educational, higher and lower, public institutions, charity, pauperism, vagrancy, crime and so forth. Do you wonder that I listen, especially when in addition to handsome compensation I have an interest in the stock, which promises to be very profitable. How many days I have wished that Mr. Dana were here and well, to help me form a judgment whether or not I ought to accept. He has advised me so often and so well that I sigh in vain for his opinion now. I hardly dare to encounter the proposed responsibilities and do not think I shall say yes. I have accordingly told none of the college officers except Professor Noah Porter, who will not advise me either way.

I felt obliged to mention the matter to Mr. Guyot on account of the engagement which I have with him. I should like to send you his letter. "In all cases of doubt," he concludes, "I make it a rule to pray that if I choose the wrong path, I may be admonished in it and God never fails to do so"!

I meant to have visited Washington in the vacation but concluded to remain in New York, where the holidays slipped quickly away. . . .

Our bachelor company at the table, Mr. Bakewell, Dr. Hubbard, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Brush would join in a message, I am sure, if they knew I was writing . . . but as I cannot go in search for them you must accept for Mr. D. and yourself the kindest regards and best wishes of

Yours very sincerely,

D. C. G.

The editorial position referred to in this letter was presumably on the *New York World*, which was being projected at this time. On mature consideration of the subject Gilman decided to remain at his post at Yale. The following letter is to his classmate, Professor Jacob Cooper, who was at this time professor of Greek at Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, and later held the same post at Rutgers. The correspondence, though not frequent, continued throughout their lives.

To Professor Cooper:

NEW HAVEN, January 26, 1860.

MY DEAR CLASSMATE:

I have been very glad to receive your letter and to learn so much of your welfare. As to personal news there is nothing to mention. I am fixed for the present in the library, contented and happy, yet not certain that I shall always be willing to lead a life of such retirement from scenes of public excitement. . . . My father is quite well, still active in business and benevolence, living in New York and surrounded by all of his children except my brother Edward and myself. Your friends about college are all well. Nobody is appointed in Professor Olmsted's place. Chapin succeeds nicely, Professor Hadley's Greek grammar is not out; it is going through the press and will appear in the summer. . . .

Let me hear from you again and believe me as ever,

Your friend sincerely,

D. C. GILMAN.

NEW HAVEN, January 26.

February 14, 1860.

MY DEAR MRS. DANA:

. . . I am exceedingly interested in all you say of the political circumstances of Tuscany, for although the Italian [situation] is the chief topic of the European news of each steamer, yet the general observations of the newspapers do not give us half so vivid pictures of the state of society as

are contained in your fresh personal observations. Not many signs of liberty will you see in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, I'll engage. I am afraid that the boot of Italy will long be out of toes. . . . What can I tell you of home news which you have not already heard from more frequent correspondents? That all the world is divided into two classes; those who attend the Agricultural lectures, and those who do not? If you have n't heard from a score of writers how successful has been Mr. Porter's Farmers' Course, you may be sure the echoes of congratulation will not have faded away before you return. One hundred and fifty or more students from out of town, three lectures a day, frequent discussions, reports in the Times and the Tribune and all the lesser luminaries, are among the indications of popularity and usefulness.

Or shall I tell you that all the world is divided into those who belong to the Kingdom of Hohenzollern-Etwas, or those who do not? In other words that the stated and occasional residents of the Triangle have caught a German fever and are communicating it to all who are not exempted by having had it before. . . .

As for the library, matters move on quietly enough. Macy's dying gifts to the college, his excellent series of German commentaries on the Bible, came to hand yesterday. The newspaper project mentioned in my last letter has not taken such shape as to appear to me attractive. Professor Guyot discourses on his friend Ritter before the Geographical Society in New York this week, and I go down to hear him. Brush and I sit by one another at the dinner table and meet besides at the Bowling Alley, so that we are, as you say, quite familiar friends. I esteem him more and more.

With the kindest regards to Mr. Dana I remain, as ever,

Yours very truly,

D. C. G.

The course of lectures mentioned in this letter was one instituted in New Haven in February, 1860, by Professor J. A. Porter. The great and growing interest in science, and particularly in agricultural chemistry, with its close

relations to the fertilization of the soil, made this a very timely affair, and Porter had collected together as lecturers a much greater number of eminent men than had ever been gathered before for such a purpose. The attendance was large; it was estimated that five hundred persons attended the course, and the lectures were of the utmost importance in influencing the progress of agricultural science in this country. Their fame was spread abroad and was largely instrumental in securing the Land Grant money for the Sheffield Scientific School.

In October, 1860, after being at the head of the Yale Library for two years, Gilman published an article in the *University Quarterly*, giving an historical sketch of the library with a list of such of the books, originally donated by the ten ministers of the gospel, as could be identified at the time of President Stiles, in 1784, and an account of the various bequests made to it since its first foundation and of the income derived from them. The building was also described minutely and the books enumerated, amounting to 67,000, including the society libraries, with 7,000 unbound pamphlets in addition. A description was also given of the various treasures of the library in books, coins and inscriptions. The result of his browsing among these books and pamphlets is shown later by an article on the archæological collection of the library, and his address at the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Yale College, as well as by two articles on Bishop Berkeley, published in 1865. He became very much interested in Bishop Berkeley and his romantic voyage, ending in his generous gifts to the college and its library; and not only in his inaugural address at the University of California, but in his letters and other later utterances, we find him using the Bishop as an illustration and example. He was also engaged at this time on the revision of Webster's

Dictionary under the editorship of Professor Noah Porter.

The spring brought with it the breaking out of the Civil War, and was a period of intense excitement in New Haven as it was everywhere. In April there were two regiments in camp at different points near the city, and numerous other companies were constantly drilling on the green. Gilman was one of those most active in organizing the "Norton Cadets," a company composed of members of the faculty and graduates, of which Professor Norton was the captain and Gilman the recruiting sergeant. Gilman was sufficiently interested in this company to have always preserved his lists as recruiting sergeant and records of attendance at the drills. The strong patriotic feeling which kept him alive to every event of the Civil War finds little expression in his letters, but its influence was felt by others. One of these, a captain in a Connecticut regiment, declares that a long talk with Gilman was what finally decided him to ask for his commission in spite of the disapproval of some of his family. He still remembers with gratitude the frequent luncheons at Gilman's home, while he was living in a tent on the green and recruiting his company, and the inspiration which this frequent association with his host was to him.

In 1861 Gilman became engaged to Miss Mary Ketcham, an intimate friend of his two younger sisters and a daughter of Treadwell Ketcham, Esquire, a New York merchant. They were married in December, and began housekeeping at once in the home of his cousin, Henry Kingsley, on Hill-house Avenue, Mr. Kingsley being in Europe for the winter.

The Morrill Land Bill was introduced into Congress in 1857 and passed for the first time in 1859, but was vetoed by Buchanan. In January, 1862, the bill was again introduced, passed both houses in June, and was signed by Lin-

coln July second of the same year. This act, entitled "An Act donating Public Lands to the Several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts," was one of momentous significance to the cause of scientific education in the United States. All through the first part of the century the "new education" had been a burning subject of discussion, and before 1840 many industries had been completely revolutionized by science. Between 1840 and 1850 all the larger colleges of the land took up the question of the possibility and desirability of including the teaching of science in their programs. With the aid of chemistry, agriculture was rapidly advancing, and the theory of fertilizers was then first brought before the country. Liebig's "Familiar Letters on Chemistry," published in a cheap form and widely read, changed the theory of agriculture throughout the civilized world. Senator Morrill had followed the course of events and realized the need and demand for scientific education; and feeling that the public lands were rapidly passing out of the hands of the nation without bringing any appreciable benefit to the people, he had determined to try to secure some part of the profits from their sale for the establishment of schools of science in the various states of the country. He felt that, while primary and secondary schools could and would be provided for locally, this higher scientific education should be the care of the nation. When the bill finally passed and land scrip was issued to the several states in proportion to their representation, the states were obliged to pass laws accepting the scrip. It was at once seen by the friends of the Yale Scientific School how advantageous it would be to secure the income for that institution. The amount coming to Connecticut was so small that it would have done little towards founding a new school, while, on the other hand, the Scientific School was already equipped

with building and apparatus; and the state would have lost the land grant if the school had not contracted with it to maintain such courses of scientific instruction as carried out the intent of the Morrill Act.

Professors Brush, Porter and Gilman went up to Hartford and appeared before the Legislature, and finally a bill was passed in May, 1863, accepting the scrip and devoting the interest wholly to the "department of Yale College known as the Sheffield Scientific School, for the maintenance of such courses as (including the courses of instruction already instituted in said school) shall carry out the intent of said Act of Congress in the manner specially prescribed by the fourth section of said Act."

The money coming in just at this time, though small in amount, was of great importance to the Scientific School. It was withdrawn after thirty years, but it had helped to carry the school through a most critical period. Gilman put forth all his powers to secure the grant for the Scientific School, and he was one of those selected to represent its interests in Washington nine years later in connection with an additional grant of national land, as will presently appear. His relations with Senator Morrill were of the pleasantest. When the Senator visited New Haven in 1867 in order to examine the first institution which had put into actual use the funds derived from the bill he had done so much to further, he stayed at Gilman's house, and met there several of the Governing Board, who were eager to question him concerning the causes that had led him to present the bill. A few notes preserved by Professor Brewer bring vividly before us the evening's conversation.

Senator Morrill said that the South had, as a rule, opposed the measure, on the plea that it was "class legislation," that it discriminated in favor of the farming class, their fear being that it might lead to the education of the

negro. He said that Slidell had persuaded Buchanan to veto it. He himself did not intend the schools to be merely agricultural schools; that title was not his but was given by the clerk who engrossed the bill. He did not intend it for class legislation, for farmers alone; he wished the teaching of science to be the leading idea, and instanced the vast importance of this to the manufacturers of New England. He expected the schools to be schools of science; not classical colleges, but colleges rather than academies or high schools. The bill was very carefully planned so that both old-established colleges and newly organized ones might use the fund.

Morrill said that the clause relating to military instruction was not in the original bill, but was introduced into the second bill because the advantage of the South over the North at the beginning of the war was attributed to the numerous military schools there, and it was thought that at least one college in each state should teach military subjects.

The funds secured through the land grant enabled the governing board at once to appoint three new professors, and it was at this time that Gilman's status was changed from one dependent on the fees of students to a regular professorship with salary, though the salary still was proportional to the number of courses given. He was appointed professor of Physical Geography in 1863.

During his later years Gilman's educational work became so entirely that of an organizer and executive head that his success as a teacher is apt to be forgotten. He taught for nine years in the Scientific School, giving courses in physical and political geography and in history, and later in political economy. He was always an inspiring teacher, enthusiastic, interested in his students and they in him. Mr. Houston

Lowe of Dayton, Ohio, a member of the Select Course of the class of 1869, gives the following impression of him as a teacher:

I was of those of the class of 1869 who took what is known as the "Select Course." It has always been my thought that Professor Gilman was the founder of this course, the underlying principle being that it should afford "youngsters" ample discipline and at the same time fit them for social and business life.

Professor Gilman was, I think, a great teacher. He seemed to care little for the words of the text books used by his classes, but much for the spirit of them, and by his personality and sound idealism endeavored to stimulate his pupils to purity of thought and action.

Before we parted at Commencement time, he gave to each of us a list of the books we "ought to own." Although I have lost my list, as a young man about all of the books he named to us were purchased and they have been a reminder of him and his work at frequent periods of my life.

Professor Gilman had not only a well trained mind, but a big heart, and, greater than all, something in him that made for righteousness. This is but a poor attempt to express appreciation of one who did much for me.

To Professor Cooper:

NEW HAVEN, April 8, '64.

MY DEAR COOPER:

I have long been wanting to hear from you and have sent you more than one note since I have had a line from you; but I presume that in the disturbed state of your neighborhood some of the mails have miscarried. Did you ever receive the Class Record published in 1862 and the supplementary note which followed last autumn? . . .

I am moved to write to you by perusing your excellent article in the Danville Review. I have all along rejoiced in the vigorous loyalty of that journal and have felt not a little satisfaction in knowing that you were one of the conductors of its pages. This pleasure was increased by your comments on the questions of the hour. You patriots of

Kentucky have had a hard battle to fight, but you are fighting bravely and I trust will win a complete victory. I appreciate especially the difficulty which arises from the influence of truly loyal men who not only justify, but prefer, a state of society in which Slavery is established; but I think that such articles as yours will prepare the way for a change in this preference, and I sincerely hope that before another month of our rapid history has passed, we shall find Kentucky side by side with Missouri and Maryland in the effort to eradicate forever the only plea for disunion.

Have you ever heard of my father's death, which occurred early last June at the age of 68? It was a severe blow from which as a family we have not begun to recover.

Ever your friend, sincerely,

D. C. GILMAN.

It was during this year that Augustus R. Street gave a fund to establish an Art School in connection with Yale College, and Gilman was associated with him on the building committee. As we have seen, Gilman felt strongly the desirability of giving the students in our American colleges some opportunity for the study of art, and deplored the lack of all æsthetic cultivation other than that of literature in their education. He was appointed a member of the council in charge of the affairs of the school, and from the beginning took a keen interest in all the details of its work, first in the architect's plans and in the exercises for the laying of the corner-stone, and later in the organization of the school, the raising of money necessary to its larger endowment, and the successful workings of the school generally. He was chairman of a committee to organize a second Loan Exhibition in 1867, the first in the new building, which was as successful as the former one had been.

Mr. Gilman's struggle to improve the almost incredibly unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in the Yale Library

must have formed one of the most discouraging experiences of his life; and after nine years of this kind of effort, he resigned the post in 1865. The nature of those conditions may be inferred from the mention of a few circumstances in a paper which he prepared for presentation to the Corporation in 1862. He pointed out that the entire lack of heat in winter, except for a small stove in one of the corridors, made the large room uninhabitable for six months of the year, besides causing great injury to the books by the consequent dampness and mould, and he made the modest request that a small room belonging to a student society which had ceased to exist be warmed and set apart as a quiet and retired place for reading and study; he also requested that he be relieved of the burden of paying out of his own meager salary for the services of an assistant whom he had found it necessary to employ in order to keep the Library open a proper number of hours and in a proper state of efficiency. On showing this paper to President Woolsey he was informed that it would be useless to approach the Corporation on either of these points, and the paper was not presented. Nevertheless, in 1864, and again in February, 1865, he drew up statements urging the imperative need of improvement and expansion for the Library. In view of the complete failure of his most modest requests it is evidence of no little courage that in the last of these papers he should have set forth a list of things requisite to be done if the Yale Library was to maintain or recover its proper rank relatively to other institutions, closing his statement with the following appeal:

For all these purposes we need to raise at least \$100,000; \$200,000 would not be too large a sum. To secure this amount we must appeal to enlightened friends of learning and especially to the pride and the interests of New Haven. The Library is the home of all our scholars, whatever their

creed, residence, education or political principles. It is freely opened to all who wish to consult it without the slightest charge. The number who thus make use of it has already transcended our powers to accommodate, or our ability to supply the wants which the college and the library have created. The want is pressing. In scarcely any direction would an expansion of the college resources be so useful to the interests of learning, and the attractiveness of New Haven as a residence for literary men.

The lack of response to all his efforts for reform and progress in library matters, and the inability of the authorities to see the necessity of change, tried Gilman's very soul. He was never able to work where he could see no progress and where the attainment of his ideal seemed utterly impossible. When, in the autumn of 1864, he found that the salaries of all the other officers of the college had been raised, that of the librarian being alone excepted, this discovery added just enough to his discouragement to practically decide him to throw up his position and devote himself to other things. After a thorough consideration of the situation, resulting in the confirmation of his feelings concerning it, he sent in his resignation, June 1, 1865, in the following letter to President Woolsey:

MY DEAR SIR:

I presume it will not take you wholly by surprise to learn that I desire to be released from the office of College Librarian. I have come to this conclusion with hesitation and regret, but the truth is that after nine years' service in this capacity, I am quite discouraged.

Improvements and changes which have long been talked of as essential to the progress of the library, the increase of the funds for the purchase of books, the employment of permanent assistance, the introduction of a heating apparatus, the opening of a quiet reading room, the consolidation of the Society Libraries, and other minor alterations, seem to be no nearer than when I entered on the office of Librarian. I am aware that the poverty of the college is a standing

reason for the delay of improvements, but this does not lessen my disappointment.

Moreover I am not able to support a family on the salary paid to the librarian, especially with the reduction in it, which I have felt compelled to make ever since my appointment, for the payment of an assistant. I am under the constant necessity of seeking other employment to meet my current expenses.

On the other hand attractive and remunerative occupations of a literary character are continually offering themselves for which I long to secure the necessary time. When I add to these considerations, that my health has already suffered and physicians remind me frequently that it will be still more impaired by continued exposure to the cold and dampness which prevail in the library much of the year, — I think you cannot wonder at my proposed withdrawal.

Will you therefore do me the favor to present my resignation of the office of librarian to the Corporation of the College at their next meeting.

I trust it is unnecessary for me to assure you of my undiminished interest in the college and my sincere desire to promote its welfare. I am, dear Sir,

Very respectfully yours,
D. C. GILMAN.

President Woolsey says, in his reply, that the leading reason in Gilman's mind does not appear to him to be a sufficient one, and that there is no likelihood of any change being made on that point, and continues:

In regard to your leaving your place my thoughts have shaped themselves thus: the place does not possess that importance which a man of active mind would naturally seek; and the college cannot, now or hereafter, while its circumstances remain as they are, give it greater prominence. With the facilities which you possess of making your way in the world, you can in all probability secure for yourself, while yet young and enterprising, a more lucrative, a more prominent and a more varied, as well as stirring employment. I feel sure that you will not long content yourself,

with your nature, in your present vocation, and therefore I regard it better, if you must leave, to leave now, better I mean for yourself; for the college, of course, will be a loser, by losing your knowledge of books, and capacity to serve its interests.

This is interesting as showing the attitude of that day in regard to the university library. It is not surprising, therefore, that Gilman found no sympathy in his desire to make the library practically what it is to-day. His own words to Cooper in an early letter: "I am fixed in the library, contented and happy, yet not certain that I shall always be willing to lead a life of such retirement from scenes of public excitement," seem to bear out President Woolsey's remarks; but as his work there continued and he saw the opportunities for expansion and had a vision of what such a library might become in connection with a great university, he had ceased to feel oppressed by any sense of retirement, and it was not the inherent limitations of a librarian's work that brought about his decision to give up the post.

Gilman's resignation was accepted in July and a successor named, but, nothing daunted by the difficulties which he had been unable to overcome while himself in office, we find him that same month signing a petition with twelve other professors, among whom Dana and Whitney were especially active, urging the corporation to put the library on a better footing, and begging it to appoint a committee which should consider these points and confer with the Prudential Committee. This committee was appointed, and a few months later reported, with the result that almost immediately a furnace was put in the vault below the main hall, and two years later a reading room, well supplied with periodicals and with lights, so that it could be used at night, was opened in South Middle; while the Society Libraries were finally united in 1872.

As late as 1869 we find Gilman's interest in the library still unabated, and his feeling that it was the central point of the university still strong. In an article about the college in the *Norwich Bulletin* he takes the opportunity to make an appeal for the library: "It is scholars who make a college; not bricks and mortar. It is endowments which secure the time and services of scholars. Next to scholars books are essential, but Yale College has not a dollar on hand to buy books for the next two years, its scanty library income having already been expended in advance. Will not your discussions respecting the college lead some of the wealthy men of Norwich to look into the real defects of the college and devise some liberal measures for their removal?"

To his brother:

RYE BEACH, August 2, 1865.

We are safe at Rye Beach, well and contented. I shall have to return to New Haven next week leaving the family here, in order to be present at the American Institute of Instruction.

I have also a great question to answer. You are perhaps aware that the Legislature recently placed the affairs of the State schools under the charge of a Board of Education (Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and four other persons, [two] of whom are Professor Thacher and Alfred Coit). This board to my surprise and gratification have invited me to be their agent or secretary at a salary of \$1800 (and expenses paid) without asking me to give up my place in college. We are at a crisis in our school affairs and this appears a rare opportunity for influence and usefulness. A great work may be done, but whether I can do it or not is a question. The salary is not large for the work, but the usefulness of the work looks to me most attractive. Shall I accept is now the question to which I must soon return an answer.

Gilman decided to accept the new appointment, coming so opportunely at the moment when his labors in the college

library were at an end. The State Board of Education had lately been constituted, and its powers defined, by an Act approved by the Governor on July 21, 1865. It was allowed to elect its own secretary, and very naturally turned to a man who had had so much experience and shown so much ability while Acting School Visitor of New Haven. The secretary's duties were many and varied, including much visiting of schools in the state, and for the year during which he retained the post they kept him fully occupied. In September he writes to his brother: "I have not yet become wonted to my new work and am in considerable perplexity regarding it, but I trust that time will make the path of duty plain." And again in December: "My new business proves to be very engrossing. I am afraid I am not strong enough to bear it."

One of the questions that had been perplexing him was that of the State Normal School, the standard of which was very low, and which was unsatisfactory from many points of view. In December, with two other members of the board, he inspected the normal schools of Massachusetts and returned convinced that the Connecticut School needed complete re-organization in order to secure its efficiency and success, and this was accomplished in the following spring.

In the spring of 1866 he prepared the first annual report of the State Board of Education, which was presented to the Legislature in May, and shows some of the results of his nine months' work. This report discusses: how to meet the lack of a sufficient number of good teachers for the schools; the building up and reform of the State Normal School; the need for an increase of High Schools in the state; the care of vicious and backward children as well as of those who were employed in factories and thus deprived of the opportunities for education. It gives statistics and letters concerning the evils of child labor in our factories,

showing how vital this question seemed to him; the advantages of suppressing small school districts and building up fewer and stronger schools; the need of a central office for the State Board of Education, to act as a clearing house for all the educational interests of the State; and the value of co-operation between the universities or colleges and the public schools as the only method by which a really strong and vigorous educational system could be built up. All these problems are still under discussion, and all the reforms demanded by Gilman in this respect are now generally acknowledged to be necessary, although by no means all have as yet been carried through.

For the last three years he had been again on the New Haven School Board, and, as chairman of the School Committee, had kept himself thoroughly informed as to the schools of the city. His committee presented reports two out of the three years, an unusual thing since the appointment of a superintendent of schools, and even a slight study of these reports shows how much attention he was giving the subject of primary education and how important he felt it to be.

In September, 1866, Gilman was elected by the governing board of the Sheffield Scientific School as their secretary. The development of the Scientific School now became Gilman's first object, and for this work he was peculiarly fitted. He found in its faculty men not only of activity and enterprise but of the highest scientific ideals, all working for the same object with heart and soul. Their spirit of sacrifice went so far that, at one time, when the funds ran very low, they petitioned the corporation to be allowed to reduce their salaries in order that they need not cut down the number of courses. President Woolsey later said, in reviewing the work of the school: "From the first the professors

have struggled against probabilities; they have worked by faith, they have aimed to have a school, sink or swim, worthy of the science of this country." As every plan devised to advance the school was thoroughly canvassed by the governing board before action was taken, each one adding his suggestions and emendations, it would be difficult now to point to the originator of the different measures. Brush, whose energies and abilities were devoted wholly to the cause of the school, with which he had been connected from its earliest days, must be credited with a large share of them. Gilman was not far behind him in this respect. He was rich in expedients, and, with his sanguine temperament, he looked far ahead to the object in view, entirely undaunted by the obstacles in his path. When a thing was to be done his fertile brain devised a thousand ways and means of doing it, and nothing seemed impossible to him. These two men worked admirably together for the good of the school, and it was through them that most of the gifts that were bestowed at this time came to the institution.

The money granted by the state had allowed the establishment of several new professorships and a number of free scholarships, and it was now necessary to make the school thoroughly known throughout the state of Connecticut, so that students should take advantage of these scholarships. In his address at the semi-centennial celebration of the Sheffield Scientific School, Gilman says: "Soon after the reception of this grant, several members of the faculty entered upon an educational campaign which can hardly be brought to mind, in a retrospect of this long interval, without provoking a smile at the enthusiasm of youth and at the 'expulsive power of a new affection.' The principal towns of the state were visited, and the chief men of the tribes assembled to hear of the new education. Sometimes in lecture rooms, frequently in private parlors, once in a court house,

once in the Governor's Room at Hartford, and once in a fire-engine room, the story was told with the earnestness of conviction if not with the grace of eloquence, and with the certainty, not of history, but of prophecy. Dana, a constant friend, had inaugurated the campaign some years before by a public address. Whitney's 'Aim and Object' was distributed as a campaign document, and the newspapers, always responsive to the claims of the school, echoed these professorial utterances in villages and by-ways. The school did not reap much money from the farms or mills, but it made hosts of friends whose favor has never departed." Though it did not reap much in money, the number of students began to increase as the school became known.

Mr. Sheffield's gift, early in the year, of \$10,000, the income of which was to be used to purchase books for the Scientific School, inspired the faculty to still further efforts, and Gilman and Brush were especially active in their attempt to get together \$2,000 to be immediately expended in such books as were necessary to form the basis of a reference library. Gilman's father-in-law showed his interest in the school by a substantial gift, as he did on several later occasions. The enlarged building was provided with a library room, and, on taking possession of it, various important series of books were presented by the officers of the school. Gilman writes to W. D. Whitney, September 4, 1866: "Brush told you, I presume, that we have \$1100 for the immediate expenditure in the Scientific library! We must press our subscription at once when the term begins."

By the end of October the desired \$2,000 was obtained. Gilman was made librarian and was able to report to the Connecticut General Assembly in 1868 that the books were all arranged and a complete catalogue on cards prepared. The library well started, a fund for physical apparatus, to be used especially in the winter's course of lectures for

mechanics, was the next thought, and again Gilman and Brush were put in charge of the matter. A course of eighteen lectures to mechanics had been given by the professors of the Scientific School for the first time in the winter of 1866, and was attended by about two hundred persons, "most of them engaged in the practical operations of life." It was a great tax on the already overworked professors, but was much appreciated by the people it was intended to benefit, and may be looked upon as one of the earliest examples of University Extension. The course is still continued, though now merged in the general system of University lectures.

The history of the Scientific School at this time, and consequently of Gilman's life, is one constant struggle for funds to support the institution, which was growing more rapidly in numbers than in wealth. Already in October, 1866, one of his colleagues writes: "I am casting about in every way to make a little money to pay my January bills. Salaries in the Academic Department have been permanently raised to \$2,600, which is about two thirds of what it costs a family to live economically; in the Scientific School we can only pay \$2,300, and hardly afford that. If we don't get some new funds in the course of the year it will go hard with us." And later: "We are trying hard to raise the funds before the year begins. If we do not succeed we shall be in no small trouble, as we are running a larger machine than we can support. We hope to clinch a few patrons and benefactors at that time."

The entire endowment for the Scientific School yielded less than \$14,000, including the income of the land grant; and the income from tuition added only \$8,000. No pecuniary assistance was received from the general funds of Yale. It will easily be seen that there was an urgent need of a larger endowment, and the letters of that time show what

constant pressure the governing board was under to make both ends meet.

The governing board felt obliged, in the autumn of 1867, to make a special effort to raise a permanent fund. A meeting was held in New Haven, people in other parts of the state were called upon, and a circular was issued giving a brief explanation of the wants of the institution, and the necessity of raising at least one hundred thousand dollars for the current expenses of the establishment, the income only to be expended, and the principal to remain forever as "the General Fund of the Scientific School." The response to this appeal was disappointing, and money came in so slowly that in 1870 we shall find the board making a still greater effort in behalf of a permanent fund.

In 1868 the rapid growth of the School made an increase in the funds still more imperative. As Gilman says in his report of that year, "Before 1860 there were but two classes of students, those engaged in the chemical laboratory and those who were studying civil engineering. In 1868, in accordance with public demand, as our program of studies indicates, special professional or technical education is provided for chemists, metallurgists, civil, mining and mechanical engineers, agriculturists, geologists and naturalists. We are also called upon to provide a general disciplinary course closely corresponding to the academic course; and likewise higher courses of instruction suited to the wants of those who have already taken their first degree and are candidates for a second. Thus the students of the department are divided into not less than seventeen groups or squads, each having its own prescribed curriculum, and there are also several independent students pursuing their special researches. All this involves of necessity a large corps of teachers, every one of whom aims to be proficient in certain chosen branches of study. . . . We are only kept back by

the lack of a sufficient number of teachers from making the regular course extend through a period of four years."

This group system was one of the most valuable ideas he took with him to the new universities he was to guide. It was not, however, the result of a deliberate plan, but was a gradual evolution from conditions existing at the Scientific School, where the men who gave the actual instruction were free to work out their ideas, step by step, without interference from higher authorities; and thus it was, to a certain extent, the result of the wholesome neglect with which the school was treated by the college proper, a neglect that proved to be conducive to freedom of growth and development. In the semi-centennial address, often quoted, Gilman speaks of it thus: "It is one of the glories of the Sheffield that, from the beginning, students have here been permitted to choose a group of studies, the constituents of which were beyond their control. 'Freedom under control' has been the rule of the house."

Gilman had much to make his life attractive to him in New Haven. Within easy reach of his own family, his pleasant home was at all times a center of hospitality for them and for his friends. Here he and his wife received the students of the school, in a series of general receptions and in smaller groups. "The Club" met often at his house, and many distinguished visitors from at home and abroad, with whom his many activities had brought him into touch, were entertained, and made acquainted with his circle of colleagues and friends. In fact his life contained so much that was interesting and stimulating, both in work and association, at this time, that a letter asking him if he would consider a call to the presidency of the University of Wisconsin received but brief consideration. His reply was as follows:

NEW HAVEN, February 9, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your favor of the fifth instant reached me yesterday, and as the meeting of the regents is appointed for the thirteenth, I feel bound to send you an immediate reply though the suggestion which you make calls for a more deliberate consideration.

I cannot deny that a position of so much influence and responsibility in the university of a prosperous and growing state, situated in a town so inviting as a residence, and endowed with the National Grant for instruction in natural science, looks very attractive; but yet my relations to this place and to this college are so pleasant, and my reluctance to change is so great that it would be unwise for me to hold out any intimation that I could accept the post referred to if I should be elected to it.

At the same time, I beg you to rest assured that I appreciate the honor of being favorably thought of in such a connection, and believe me, dear sir,

Very respectfully yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

N. B. VAN SLYKE, Esq., Chairman Exec. Comm.

Madison, Wisconsin.

He refers to the matter, but with the utmost brevity, in a letter written to his brother on February 18, saying: "You may have heard from Norwich that I have been consulted about accepting the presidency of Wisconsin University. I have not given the subject much thought, but I wrote a declinatory letter." And later in one to Professor Cooper: "I abandon all thought of going to the west, my work here being satisfactory, at least to myself."

The years 1867-70 show a continuance of the varied activities, in addition to the duties of his professorship, in which he was engaged. Among these may be mentioned the address delivered before the New Haven Colony Historical Society on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the

founding of Yale College, which was published in the proceedings of the Society and contains an excellent account of the beginnings of the College, the subject being treated in a manner very characteristic of the author; a course of Sunday evening lectures on Biblical Geography to Yale students; and two papers published in the *New Englander* (December, 1867, and January, 1868) on public school questions. He delivered a number of lectures and addresses at various places on the subject of scientific and technical education; and his address at the opening of the State Industrial School at Middletown in June, 1870, is of special interest as foreshadowing a department of activity in which he afterward became a leader and worker. The address was largely an historical and descriptive account of the various charitable and penal institutions of the state; but in closing he recommended three principles to be observed by all engaged in charitable and philanthropic work: — first, that all who are personally concerned in such work should make it a duty to keep thoroughly informed in respect to what is doing elsewhere, in order to know what to avoid and abandon, and what to test and adopt; second, that women should be employed in charitable undertakings and trained especially for such work, so that they should be ready to take the higher and more responsible positions in the various institutions; and third, that in all charitable and reformatory institutions there should be full publicity as to income and expenditure and that the entire management should be open to public inspection. It is plain from this that neither his interest nor his insight in regard to systematized charity was a new thing to him when, a number of years later, he took so active a part in promoting it.

The Scientific School continued to progress, but its fiscal difficulties did not diminish. In Gilman's report of May, 1869, he was obliged to announce that through lack of funds

the school had lost the services of the professor of Mining, a kindred institution in another city being able to offer him a suitable salary, which the resources of the Scientific School did not permit it to pay. Another melancholy announcement was that, by a change in the investment of the land-grant money, the interest was, at least temporarily, so reduced that the salaries must be cut from \$2,300 to \$2,000. He adds: "It is the personal interest of the professors in this particular foundation which has kept them here in spite of the proposals constantly made to them to engage in other occupations or to connect themselves with other kindred institutions in other parts of the country, and the belief that in New Haven a vigorous college of science will at all times be required." In this condition of things an earnest effort to raise an endowment was obviously a vital necessity, and Gilman of course exerted himself energetically in this direction. The leading men of Connecticut were enlisted in the cause and, though no great sum was raised at once, enough was accomplished to give heart to the governing board and encourage them to make some enlargement of the staff of the school. It is interesting to note, in view of the change in sentiment which has since taken place, that Gilman, in reporting that only \$70,000 had been received instead of the quarter million which had been hoped for, remarked that the governing board were "well aware how many prejudices are to be overcome among the practical business men, who look with distrust upon any phase of college training, and among the college-bred men who look with suspicion, if not hostility, upon what they call the New Education, and between the two they are aware that time, with good results, will be the best mediator."

A letter to Andrew D. White contains a note of jubilation over the securing of the Hillhouse library of mathematical books, which had been in danger of being sold to Cornell University:

NEW HAVEN, May 23, 1870.

MY DEAR ANDREW:

I assure you we are just as sorry to keep the Hillhouse Library from you as you would have been to take it from us, and what more can I say? Hillhouse was strict in adhering to his engagements with you. He would not receive, nor did we make any proposition, in respect to our buying the books, till the utmost limit of the time allotted you had expired. Thanks to a good friend we offered him cash on the nail as soon as he was free, and the bargain was closed beyond hope of opening. You only failed to get a good thing. We should have made a clear loss if the books had gone from next door to us, where they have so long been accessible to our mathematicians. What can we do to make amends? You shall have free use of the books as much as you desire, and if it is very important that they and the architectural books should be near together, we will do our best to make room for the last-named also.

I want very much to see the new University in its beginnings, for if I do not soon visit you the child will be a giant grown. I am to deliver the opening address at the State Industrial School in Middletown, the last of June, and I fear that the day coincides with your anniversary. If it does not I will try to accept your invitation, though I am quite mystified by your intimations. I want no stronger inducements than a welcome from you.

Ever truly yours,
D. C. GILMAN.

During this period Gilman endured the great sorrow of seeing his wife's health fail and all measures taken for the restoration of it prove ineffective. She passed away in the fall of 1869, and he announced her death to their friends in these words:

MARY KETCHAM,

WIFE OF DANIEL C. GILMAN,

Died in New Haven, Connecticut, October 25, 1869,
aged 31 years. After many months of weariness and suf-

fering, borne with a beautiful serenity, which was as natural to her as comforting to others, and alleviated by innumerable tokens of sympathy and love, she calmly gave up children, friends, home, with all that made earth dear, and fell asleep, trusting in Christ and hopefully looking forward to the life to come.

Thanks be to God, Which giveth us the Victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

The following letter from Gilman to W. D. Whitney on his call to Harvard, written during the last weeks of Mrs. Gilman's illness, is inserted here on account of its being so thoroughly characteristic of his never-failing sympathy with his friends, his ability to put himself in their place and take their point of view, and the generous way in which he was able to express his appreciation of their abilities and character. That Professor Whitney appreciated and returned his regard can be seen by this extract from one of his own letters, concerning this same matter: "That my personal attachments here are strong, you will readily conceive. I do not suppose there is any man in the country who could be to me what Mr. Hadley is; nor can a more whole-souled body of men be found than my colleagues in the Scientific School, Hush first of all, and Gilman and Brewer next, with whom association in labor would be pleasanter."

To W. D. Whitney:

NEW HAVEN, October 13, 1869.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have been so closely confined at home since the day when you made known to me the Cambridge proposal that I have not been able to exchange a word with you on the subject. But I should be very sorry to have you think that I have been indifferent to the possibility of your acceptance. The same cause which has kept me at home, has given me much quiet opportunity for reflection both by night and by day,

and I have often recurred to our talk upon the green a fortnight or so ago. It happens also that I have seen more of our friends than I have of you, and know something of the college sentiment respecting your very great importance to all the interests of learning in New Haven.

So long as there was no light on the pecuniary question it seemed heartless, almost, to urge your remaining here on the present meagre allowance which you receive for services second to none which are rendered by any of the professorial body. But now that there is a liberal proposal from one individual, I hope that in one way or other agreeable to you, this lower phase of the question will be made to appear as good in New Haven as it is in Cambridge, so that whatever your decision may be it will not turn on the matter of a salary. It seems to me that the Scientific School can well pay you liberally for your discipline of the Freshman Class, releasing you, if you desire it, from instruction in French, and requesting you to give to all our Seniors a short course of lectures or lessons in the history or principles of linguistics.

If the money question can be adjusted to your satisfaction, it seems to me that you ought to weigh well the very cordial esteem in which you are held by all your associates in Yale College. You will doubtless make other friendships in Cambridge, but they will be comparatively new and untried. Possibly you may think that the expressions now made are those of the emergency, because in the ordinary intercourse and pressure of life there is so little demonstration of friendly esteem or intellectual admiration; but I know (and so does Mr. Hadley and Mr. Brush) that you have long had a very strong influence upon the scholarship of the college, not by any means among the philologists alone but almost equally among all the students associated with you. It would certainly gratify you and possibly surprise you to hear men like Mr. Dana and Mr. Verrill express themselves as strongly respecting their appreciation of your services, as Mr. Hadley and Mr. Van Name. Their expressions are not those of the present moment only, but are their constant and long-cherished sentiments. So far as I know, there is but one voice among all the college officers, a strong desire

to retain you here if it can be done without detriment to your interests.

I do not feel that my personal sentiments are of much importance to you but I cannot refrain from expressing to you my very great obligations for the services, direct and indirect, which you have rendered me ever since we spent so many hours together over the pages of the dictionary. You have impressed on me many valuable principles, not merely of learning but of life, and I should feel that a great support was taken away if you were to leave New Haven. I never think of your industry, patience, and your absolute love of truth without being quickened in good impulses and helped in new exertions. I earnestly hope that when you look at the problem in all its lights, the solution will be found in remaining here, and that if this decision is reached it may be the occasion for pushing forward the University interests as they have never been pushed heretofore.

I have written with frequent interruptions, being called upon from time to time to lay down my pen and go to the side of one who, with great serenity and trust, is looking in the face the end of earthly hopes, but you will excuse the imperfections of my note in view of the sincere regard with which I am ever your friend,

D. C. G.

Gilman received a call to the presidency of the University of California in 1870, and gave the question of its acceptance serious consideration before deciding to decline the invitation and remain at his work in New Haven; and in the autumn we find him back at his post.

In February, 1871, the Sheffield Scientific School was incorporated. This move had long been strongly advised by Mr. Sheffield, who desired to have the Scientific School independent, in the control of its property, of the Corporation of Yale College; not from want of confidence, but from conviction that this would be the best way. In pursuance of Mr. Sheffield's request, after various consultations on the subject, Professors Brush, Gilman and Trowbridge, and

Messrs. John S. Beach, William Walter Phelps and Charles J. Sheffield associated themselves into a body politic and corporate for scientific purposes, the name of the corporation being the Board of Trustees of the Sheffield Scientific School, and its object and purpose to promote the study of physical, natural and mathematical sciences in the college or school of sciences known as the Sheffield Scientific School, located at New Haven; the property of the corporation to be managed by a board of nine directors, three of them, the Governor of Connecticut, the President of Yale, and the chairman of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum, being members *ex officio*, the remaining six being the above-mentioned associates.

No account of Gilman's life at this time would be complete without something more than passing mention of Joseph Earl Sheffield, the generous benefactor of the school, with whom he came so closely in contact and who had so often helped the governing board over a tight place, and given them the support not only of his pecuniary assistance but of his entire sympathy and confidence in their work and aims. Gilman's own tribute to him in his address at the celebration of the semi-centennial of the school will best express his regard for this friend of the school:

Mr. Sheffield was a man whom future generations, like the present, may delight to acknowledge and honor as a founder. Nothing will ever be revealed about him that his school will wish to cover. On the contrary, if those who knew him best would utter what they know, the world would admire even more than it does now the sagacity, the modesty, the consideration, and the unselfishness of our great benefactor. His liberality grew with the growth of the school. It was shown in little things and in great; in the payment of current bills and the provision of large funds. "I get my reward every time I look out upon that workshop," was the answer he made to an expression of gratitude. "No investment pays me so well," was another of his remarks.

. . . Yet with all this growing interest, and with his readiness to listen to all the inside history of the school, he never to the slightest degree interfered with its affairs. He trusted the governing board. He knew more intimately than any member of the corporation the plans, the wants, the success and the limitations of the school, and to the utmost of his ability he contributed to its maintenance. . . . His only regrets were the limitations of his resources. To all of these engaging traits must be added the remembrance of his strong intellect, his comprehensive charity, his integrity, gentleness and faith. Happy the school that can bestow love as well as gratitude upon the memory of its chief benefactor.

The act of incorporation was followed by a new gift from Mr. Sheffield, of a lot of land on Prospect Street, close to the school, "with any building or buildings I may cause to be erected thereon," which gift was vested in the new board of trustees. The building which Mr. Sheffield caused to be erected there was devoted to lecture rooms, class rooms, and collections.

Another gift to Yale College in which Gilman was specially interested, and in the securing of which he was instrumental, was that of the Winchester Observatory. Mr. Winchester gave to a board of trustees, of which he was one, a tract of thirty-eight acres on a high ridge on Prospect Street, north of the Scientific School, some of which land was to be sold, and the money derived therefrom to be applied to the foundation of an observatory for astronomical and physical researches in connection with Yale College.

The following letter to Professor Cooper refers to a course of lectures delivered at Princeton in February, 1871, on "The Structure of the Earth":

NEW HAVEN, March 3, 1871.

MY DEAR COOPER:

On my arrival here yesterday I received your cordial note of the 27th. I wish it had been convenient for me to re-

main longer with you in New Brunswick, and you may be assured that I greatly enjoyed the opportunity of a brief interview. . . .

I was closely occupied during all my visit to Princeton, lecturing twice daily, and spending some time in preparation. The glimpse which I had of your life and its surroundings was most interesting to me, and one of these days I shall hope to see you more leisurely. My Princeton work is over.

With kind regards to Mrs. Cooper, I am, dear friend,
Ever faithfully yours,
D. C. GILMAN.

To Andrew D. White:

NEW HAVEN, May 5, 1871.

MY DEAR ANDREW:

I am glad to see by your sign manual, that you are yourself again, at home, at work, and as always thoughtful of your friends. Though I missed seeing you in New York, I came up with Fred Davies in the cars just after he had parted from you, and if your ears did not burn when he talked and I listened, or when I talked and he listened, regarding all your activities, why then your ears cannot be the most sensitive part of your body. We both of us rejoice that your good sense kept you out of any foolish recommendations in respect to San Domingo, and led you to give so good a narrative of facts and observations. Your appointment, in my opinion, saved the government from a great deal of folly. I long for a good chance to talk over with you all that you saw and did.

As to Yale matters, the tendency, right or wrong, is to diversity or duality in the undergraduate instruction-course rather than to unity; that is to say, the Sheffield Scientific School is bound to work out its notions in one way and the old college in another will carry on its plans. There is no sign of hostility or rivalry but of increasing good will. Gradually all our instructions have become distinct from theirs and now not one of our classes goes to the old college for instruction. This is contrary to our original expecta-

tions and desires; we have rather been forced into these circumstances; but the fact is everything goes better than it did when we were trying to combine two different institutions. This requires an hour's talk, not a single letter's page to explain. Do come and see us. There is always a welcome for you; and if Mrs. White will join you it will be all the pleasanter for us.

Ever sincerely yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

During the first six months of 1871 Yale College was kept constantly before the public in the newspapers; hot discussions between "Old Yale" and "Young Yale," and bitter attacks on the college, being heard and read on all sides. In the previous December President Woolsey had given notice to the corporation of his intention of resigning the presidency in the following July, and the question of his successor was being constantly agitated, while that of the change in the charter proposed by President Woolsey himself in October, 1866, in an article in the *New Englander*, shared with it the attention of the alumni. His proposal had been that some representation in the Yale corporation should be given to the alumni, and he suggested that the six senior State Senators who were *ex officio* members of that body, and who rarely held their office more than one year, should surrender their places to six men chosen from, and elected by, the alumni of Yale College.

The charter of Yale then in force required that the ten members of the corporation, besides the *ex officio* members, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and the six senior State Senators, and the President of the college, should be Congregational ministers of the State of Connecticut, who should serve for life and should be a self-electing body. The greater number of the younger Yale alumni had become dissatisfied with what they considered the conserva-

tive attitude of the college, and, holding the ten Congregational ministers responsible for this state of affairs, were eager to have some representation of their own on the corporation, while the more conservative element felt that the interests of Yale were safe in the hands of the ten ministers, and dreaded any change.

Gilman was actively engaged on a committee to work out the best plan possible for the proposed change. Notes to him from President Woolsey about alterations in the projected bill desired by the Faculty, and several drafts of the bill in Gilman's handwriting, show how much thought he was giving to the matter. While they were deliberating what to do, Governor Jewell, in his message, recommended to the General Assembly of Connecticut that one half of the State representation be surrendered to the alumni, the new members to be elected by the alumni to serve for four years, and added: "I do not know how this can be done, if at all, nor am I aware whether it would be agreeable to any of the parties concerned, but if it can be accomplished, I think the effect would be good." At the same time he wrote Gilman:

HARTFORD, May 15, 1871.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

I have taken my chances and have gone for Yale College.

Don't know how it will suit, but I have opened the question for Yale. I propose that the State shall surrender half its representation to the Alumni at large. Let us see what will come of it. But I have had really no time to mature my message as I ought.

Yours truly,
MARSHALL JEWELL.

At almost the same time President Woolsey had published an article in the *Congregationalist*, dealing with the subject in a more abstract manner, and Gilman followed up

these two utterances with a long, well-reasoned and convincing article in the *Nation*, ending with: "The only one of the considerations needing an immediate answer is Governor Jewell's message. . . . As a basis for further discussion the following suggestions are made. Yale College should be regarded as a society of scholars; to be admitted to the society the candidate must receive a degree either in course or honorary. All such persons as have thus been graduated by the President and Fellows of Yale should be electors of the fellows and be eligible to fellowships, with the proviso that bachelors should be of five years' standing before beginning to exercise the privilege. The term for which a fellowship should be held should be six years, and details of arrangements in respect to nominations and elections should be left to the President and Fellows, who may be trusted to act in good faith."

A bill was drawn up on these general lines, and, at President Woolsey's request, "lest it seem as if our counsels were divided," Gilman went up to Hartford to do what he could to further it. He was provided with several changes to be made in its wording, suggested by the faculty. The following letter from Governor Jewell, however, convinced him that it would be better to let it go through as it was, and the bill was accordingly passed and became law before Commencement Day, as the Governor desired. Some changes as to details were made the next year.

HARTFORD, July 5, 1871.

PROF. GILMAN:

I had a sort of ambition to get the Yale College bill all through and signed and fixed before Commencement and so get the credit of it and have done with it. I had the bill recalled to have one word changed, which was evidently right. I have been looking after it again today, and find Prof. Thacher and yourself have asked still further changes

which some like and some don't. I haven't seen it and don't know about it and don't much believe it is going to get through this week after all. I can put it through well enough if I can find out what is wanted or what would be satisfactory. I haven't much time to give to it but still have enough to put it through if I can find out what to put through, and I shall feel a little chagrined, I am free to confess, if after all it's not going to be done this week. It can all be killed *dreadful* easy and if it's tinkered much, may be.

Believing it to be right and having started it, I wanted to have it completed before I went down. Do you want me to bother any more about it? It can be spoiled by too many cooks like any other broth. Something should be presented that is satisfactory and passed.

Yours (a little out of patience),
MARSHALL JEWELL.

The question of President Woolsey's successor was still to be settled. There had been a vain hope among the younger alumni that the election would be postponed a year, so that the new alumni members of the corporation might be able to have a voice in this important subject. Many names had been mentioned in connection with this office and among them that of Gilman, a favorite candidate of Young Yale. Several of the men who had worked with him in the Scientific School also thought that he would be the ideal man for the place and would do for Yale what President Eliot was doing for Harvard. In a letter from a member of the governing board of the Scientific School written at the time of Gilman's first call to California we find: "You do not do Gilman justice; he would be, I think, the best man selectable to put the California University through, as his loss would be the greatest we could endure. You know I told you last spring that I hoped to see him our president, and we certainly need the best man not less than do the Californians."

In many of the sharp criticisms of the college made by those who thought that Harvard was outstripping Yale, the Scientific School had been especially excepted. Due praise was given to its progressive management, and much of this superior development was attributed to Gilman. Among the articles in the papers in favor of him as candidate are some which show a just appreciation of his ability and powers as an executive head. In comparing him with another candidate one of these raises the question "whether executive ability, tact, a power of management and government, a keen and quick appreciation of each new want as it arises, and a ready way of meeting it, a thorough knowledge of just what is needed in each department, and how best obtained; and, moreover, a true understanding of, and a warm kindred feeling with, the students themselves in their everyday life; whether these are not after all more essential for the best good of Yale than scholarship, and what has been known as orthodoxy."

As the time of election drew near it became evident that the Yale corporation would not uphold any one so closely allied with the "new education" and that there was practically but one candidate in the field. That Gilman was already marked out as pre-eminently qualified for the position of executive head of a large university is clearly shown by the two calls he had received from the University of Wisconsin and California, and it is interesting to speculate upon what would have been the result had Yale at these qualities had been recognized by his Alma Mater.

Early in August Gilman was appointed by the Commissioner of Education, General John Eaton, to visit, in behalf of the Bureau of Education, the various institutions in the Northern States which had organized under the Act of Congress for the Promotion of Agriculture and the Mechanic

Arts. The principal results of his inquiries were to be embodied in a report to the Bureau of Education. A list of questions respecting these Scientific Schools, to be submitted to them, was drawn up by him and printed; and he was provided with a circular letter of appointment addressed to the heads of the schools. The report was to be published in November, but owing to the fact that during a large part of the time between his appointment and that date the schools were having their vacations, Gilman found it best to defer his detailed report until the following year, giving only a more general one at that time. He had, however, personally inspected nine of the National Schools of Science east of the Rocky Mountains, had interviewed the principal officers of eight more, and corresponded with those of still other of the institutions. On his way west he represented the Sheffield Scientific School at a gathering of gentlemen interested in Agricultural Schools, which was held in Chicago for the purpose of conference and discussion in respect to the best methods of promoting agricultural knowledge and education, and still more particularly with reference to the experiments in agriculture which might be made by various institutions of that class. This was more or less preliminary to a larger conference which was held in Washington the following February, at the invitation of the Secretary of Agriculture, at which Gilman and Professor Johnson represented the Scientific School. There the subject of a request to Congress for a further appropriation for the encouragement of technical education was discussed, and a committee to memorialize Congress in favor of an increased appropriation appointed. A committee was also formed to consider what measures should be recommended for the establishment of Agricultural Experiment Stations. Efforts were made to get the National Schools of Science to co-operate and bring what influence they could to bear on

Congress in favor of such legislation, and Gilman exerted himself to the utmost in its behalf.

A bill was accordingly introduced into the Senate proposing to bestow upon the several institutions aided by the enactment of 1862 an additional grant of land, and one was introduced into the House with the same end in view. Senator Morrill was the author of the Senate bill and, by his invitation together with that of Senator Buckingham of Connecticut, a committee of the Governing Board of the Sheffield Scientific School addressed two private assemblies of Senators and Representatives in Washington, on April 17 and 18, with reference to the importance of these scientific and polytechnic institutions. Gilman and Trowbridge were sent on by the Scientific School for this purpose, and in their speeches expressed their "confidence in the wisdom of the original enactment, and in its great benefit to the country generally; and especially called attention to the fact that it secured local responsibility under national aid, scientific education without disparagement of literary culture, scientific schools rather than simple agricultural schools, and instruction funds instead of bricks and mortar." They met with a cordial response, and everything seemed favorable to the new enactment; but the two bills, after passing both houses by overwhelming majorities, failed, in the hurry which attends the last hours of Congress, for lack of agreement as to details between the two houses.

The work of the Scientific School had gone on prosperously during the year 1871-72. In his seventh and last report Gilman was able to announce that the effort which began in 1870 to raise a fund of a quarter of a million dollars for the endowment of the Scientific School had been successful and that the amount had been secured. "No agents have been employed and no commissions paid. A variety of private and public meetings have been held; a

number of explanatory pamphlets have been printed; gentlemen at home and from a distance have been induced to visit the school; in short it has been the constant endeavor of the governing board to interest intelligent men in the character, results, and methods of the work in which we are engaged." The Governing Board too were much encouraged in July by the gift of \$20,000 in two sums of \$10,000 each towards a Professors' Fund of \$50,000, provided that amount should be raised within two years.

The severe illness of his younger daughter clouded the spring of 1872 with intense anxiety, and much time was given by him to reading everything that had been written about the disease, meningitis, from which she was suffering. He sent to Europe for publications that could not be obtained in this country. The child slowly recovered, but he became convinced that a milder climate would give her a greater chance of regaining perfect health, and the California plan began to assume a new aspect. The following letter is to President White, with whom he had kept in close touch in promoting the movement in behalf of the agricultural and scientific schools:

MY DEAR ANDREW:

All my activity is paralysed by the sudden and alarming illness of a dear little child, four years of age, who has been the joy of our household these last sad years.

I have heard from Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Minnesota, all helping forward the National Grant bill.

Yours ever,

D. C. G.

NEW HAVEN, 8 May, '72.

In June Gilman again received an appointment from the Commissioner of Education to inspect the National Schools of Science which had not come within his scope the previous year, with the request that, if possible, he go as far as the

Pacific coast, though as the appropriation for his services was very small this point was not insisted upon. He did go as far as the Pacific coast, however, and returned at the end of the summer with his mind made up to accept the presidency of the University of California, which had again been offered to him. The illness of the little child already referred to, and the hope that a milder climate would help in restoring her to perfect health, was undoubtedly one reason which influenced him in accepting the new position; but the opportunity for the exercise of abilities which so far he had only been able to use in a limited degree must have made the offer one of great attraction to him.

His letter of resignation, President Porter's reply, and a brief note to President White follow:

NEW HAVEN, September 12, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR:

Since the close of the last college term I have been chosen President of the University of California, and have been to San Francisco that I might become personally acquainted with the Regents and their plans. The prospects of the new institution are full of hope, and the opportunities for usefulness in its service are ample. Family considerations had predisposed me to regard with favor a change of climate. Under all the circumstances, I have come with great reluctance to the decision that duty requires me to relinquish my work in the Scientific School and to sever the ties which have bound me to New Haven uninterruptedly since I came here as a student.

I therefore beg leave to resign by this letter my office of a professor in Yale College, with all the duties growing out of it which have been entrusted to me by the Corporation. In taking this step it is a pleasure to believe that all the departments of the University are flourishing and that especially the Scientific School has attained to a position of strength and of growing influence.

In communicating to the Corporation my resignation, will you be good enough to assure them of my undiminished in-

terest in everything which will promote the welfare of Yale College; and will you accept for yourself my congratulations upon the auspicious opening of your administration.

With sincere regards for you and all associated with you in the instruction and government of Yale College,

I remain, dear Sir, etc. etc.

REV. DR. PORTER, President, etc.

YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT,

September 13, 1872.

TO PROFESSOR DANIEL C. GILMAN:

MY DEAR SIR:

Yours of the twelfth, resigning your office as professor in Yale College, has been received and will be communicated to the Corporation at its next session.

I beg leave to assure you of the high estimate of the value of your services to all departments of the college which is entertained by all the several faculties, and especially of the very efficient and successful activity which you have exhibited in the organization and development of the Sheffield Scientific School. We regret to lose you from this field of activity in which you have been so conspicuous, but we give you our congratulations and our best wishes as you enter upon the very promising field to which you have been so cordially invited. Your connection with the great university on the Pacific will add a new bond of interest and sympathy to the many which connect Yale College with that land of enterprise and hope.

Accept my grateful acknowledgments for your many acts of personal kindness and for the friendly feelings which you have so uniformly manifested to myself.

With the most sincere regards and best wishes,

I am, most truly yours,

NOAH PORTER.

To Andrew D. White:

MY DEAR ANDREW:

Safe home again, with a head full of new experiences and aspirations, I shall not feel "to enjoy my mind" until I have

seen and talked with you. Here or in New York or in Utica. My time is so fully occupied that I can understand how busy you may be; but if you are to be in New York within two or three weeks, I hope you will let me know. I expect to begin my new duties *out there*, about November first.

Ever cordially yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

NEW HAVEN, September 17, 1872.

Gilman's departure from New Haven was the cause of universal regret, his friends feeling not only their personal loss but also the loss the college sustained in his removal from its activities. By none was it more deeply felt than by his colleagues on the governing board of the Scientific School, and in their report of the following year they speak of him in these words:

" . . . Yielding to repeated solicitations he accepted last year the Presidency of the University of California, and departed to that State in October; and there his zeal, his ability, his untiring energy, and his fertility of resources have already begun to make themselves largely felt. None parted from him with more regret than those who had so long been associated with him in the management of the Scientific School; and they desire to express publicly here their appreciation of his earnest and constant efforts to promote the growth of this department, and their full confidence in and hope for his success in the new and broad field of labor upon which he has entered."

Gilman might well feel that he was leaving the Scientific School in a flourishing condition and that it had attained a position of strength and growing influence, when he looked back to its condition and prospects at the time when in 1856 he aided Professor Dana in drawing up the "Proposed Plan." During the six years in which, as the next

report says, Gilman was the principal exponent of the school to the public, and when he was giving to it all his best energies, the number of students had more than doubled, while the number of the courses offered had risen from three to eight, its building had been enlarged, a second one donated by the same generous hand, a library had been endowed and catalogued, a valuable mathematical library had been added to it, an excellent collection of mechanical models and apparatus had been given, and collections of various sorts had been started. Instead of leading a precarious, hand to mouth existence, a substantial addition of \$250,000 had been made to the endowment fund, and a new Professors' Fund of \$50,000 was well under way. Best of all, the Scientific School had made itself known and respected in the world and had acquired a host of friends, and such a position that even the other departments of the college had begun to admit that it was worthy of a place among them.

That these sixteen years in New Haven had been a fruitful period in his life, we will let Gilman himself bear witness: "In quick succession colleges, departments of science, and independent institutes have appeared in every state. Of these not a few have adopted the methods here followed or have called to their support those who have been here trained. For one such institution, now celebrating its majority, permit me to acknowledge with filial gratitude the impulses, lessons, warnings, and encouragements derived from the Sheffield Scientific School; and publicly admit that much of the health and strength of Johns Hopkins University is due to early and repeated draughts upon the life-giving springs of New Haven."

CHAPTER III

CALIFORNIA

IN order to understand the situation with which Mr. Gilman had to deal when he assumed the presidency of the University of California, it is necessary to glance briefly at the circumstances in which the University took its rise and at the history of its initial years. Chartered in 1868 by the State, there were two elements that entered into its organization and influenced its future which had their origin elsewhere than in the State government. In the first place, the University absorbed an existing institution, the College of California, which since 1860 had done great service in cultivating a university sentiment in the community; and in the compact between the State and the College by which the absorption was effected, it was stipulated that there should be perpetually maintained in the University a "College of Letters." The other element referred to was the land grant bestowed on the State by the Federal Government, under the Morrill Act of 1862, which required the maintenance of "at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanical arts, in such manner as the legislature of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

The government of the University was placed in the hands of a Board of Regents, which included the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Speaker of the Assembly, and Super-

intendent of Public Instruction, two *ex officio* representatives of the agricultural and mechanical interests of the State, eight Trustees appointed by the Governor and eight selected by the other fourteen. Later, the law was amended so that all except the *ex-officio* Regents should be appointed by the Governor.

The State took over the work of higher education in the autumn of 1869, on the property in Oakland that had been occupied by the College of California. Martin Kellogg, one of the staunchest sustainers of university ideals, long the Dean of the Academic Senate, and later President of the University (1890-99), continued in the University, as he had been in the College, Professor of Ancient Languages. John and Joseph Le Conte, finest ornaments of the Faculty, were called from the University of South Carolina to fill the chairs of Physics and Geology respectively. W. T. Welcker and Frank Soulé, graduates of West Point, were appointed, the former Professor and the latter Assistant-Professor of Mathematics. Ezra S. Carr was chosen Professor of Agriculture, and William Swinton Professor of English and History. In 1871 Willard B. Rising, a graduate of Hamilton College and of Heidelberg, instructor in Chemistry in the University of Michigan, and a short while Professor of Natural Science in the College of California, was added to the Faculty as Professor of Chemistry. These were the more important men on the staff of instruction.

At the outset the Regents did not elect a President, but they designated Professor John Le Conte Acting President, in which capacity he served for one year. A serious mistake had thus been made by the Regents in selecting a Faculty without competent advice, and, more especially, without considering the importance of harmonious coöperation between Faculty and President. The Regents were mostly new to administrative work of this kind, although some of

them had been trustees of the College. They were men of strongly marked individuality. They had a full sense of the power of their position, but perhaps were not fully conscious of their responsibilities. They regarded all their employees as so many of their own people. There were some Regents who had a real understanding of his electabilities and of the relations of the University to the Regents, President and Faculty. They were strong, successful and right-minded men, but they did not realize the true position of the University as one of the many parts of the State.

At this time the fires of the Revolution were still smouldering in California. The Board of Regents was a very enthusiastic friend of the Union, setting forth the attractions of the State of California, the University of the presidency, the University of the Senate, and the University of the North and the South. They were of their origin in the domination character of the Faculty and it showed it.

of the Faculty. men of such harm was done. was likewise to General desire to promote ideas in sentiment, school. on the construction of the University of the Pacific Coast. The

tion of the College of California. Naturally, they did not wish the aims for which they had staked so much all lost in the University. Many points of divergence might be suggested in the resulting discussions and controversies, but three may be specially singled out as distinguishing their exponents into (1) those who resented New England assumption of superiority in, if not exclusive possession of, educational ideals, and Puritan assumption of superior righteousness; (2) those who provoked such feelings of resentment; and (3) church bodies and individuals, who deplored any sort of undenominational college and especially a non-sectarian, otherwise "godless," State University. But the true voice of California was heard from the mouths of another element — the enlightened, temperate, sane element, composed of men from New England, from New York, from the South, from the West, college men and self-educated men, men of all creeds, who held the balance of power, and, when they got together, carried the ship safely and triumphantly onward.

It was the ascendancy in 1870 of the liberal and enlightened spirit of the community that resulted in the election to the presidency of Professor Gilman; though the unwarranted Puritan claim to a victory, made now, and again in 1872, tended to prejudice his position. The election took place on June 21. The letter given below from Edward Tompkins to Rev. Dr. H. W. Bellows suggests perhaps the way it came about that Professor Gilman was selected. Edward Tompkins, whom we shall meet again, was a member of the Board of Regents, a State Senator, and an ardent friend and advocate of the University. He writes under date of June 21 as follows to Dr. Bellows:

I have but a moment to say that the battle is fought and won. Prof. Gilman has this afternoon been elected

Pres. of the University of California. Your letter elected him, although there were a far greater number for other candidates. On what accidents life turns! A place that may and ought to be historical, filled by Dr. Thompson's dining with you on the day my letter reached you. Now, can you not send word to Dr. Thompson at once, so that he will make Prof. Gilman's acceptance certain? The Governor will write him to-morrow informing him of his election, and if by any accident he should decline, *I should be compelled to abscond*. I am inexpressibly obliged to you for all your interest in this matter. That, and the consciousness of the influence for good that you have exercised across a continent ought to give you one more very pleasant memory.

Governor Haight, *ex-officio* President of the Board of Regents, a man of culture and a wise and enthusiastic friend of the University, wrote to Professor Gilman, setting forth at length the resources, prospects and attractions of the University, and urging his acceptance of the presidency. Professor Kellogg, Dean of the Academic Senate, and others interested sent letters expressing their earnest hope that he would come. The enthusiastic letter of Mr. Tompkins has special interest:

As one of the Regents of the University of California, I feel a deep interest in your answer to the invitation to become its President. As I was the means of bringing your name before the Board, I am particularly anxious that an unfavorable answer should not be returned, at least until the inducements that the position offers are fully understood. A note from your brother-in-law, Dr. Thompson, to my valued friend Dr. Bellows, was sent me by the latter, speaking of you in terms that led me to learn all that was in my power about you. The result has been to convince me that it will be a misfortune to California, *and I think to you*, if you turn away from the opportunity offered you to shape and form the educational interests of the Pacific Coast. The

means are ready to your hand. Neither money nor interest in the matter is wanting. All that is needed is a young man, devoted and earnest, ready to do his life work in giving the best education to the greatest number, and realizing fully that his best reputation while he lives, and his noblest monument when he is dead, will be best secured, by making the University of which he is *the first President* a grand success. I have become satisfied that you can do all this, and so believing I am not willing to admit the idea that you *can* refuse to take the lead in so noble a work. Why should you? The lowest consideration, money, will not prevent. We pay \$6,000 gold, to which in due season a house will be added. I need not contrast that with any salary paid on your side of the continent. The opportunity *to do good* is vastly greater in a new, energetic, enterprising region, poorly supplied with means of education, than in an old country where colleges and educated men abound. The *promise for the future* is much the greatest on this side of the continent. Where you are, suppose you could be President of Yale. You would get it only after a controversy with "old fogysm," and you would be one of a long line of Presidents. Old ideas, if they did not defeat, would fetter and embarrass you. Here, you would be the founder of a new dynasty, the *first President*, and would forever be "*at the head.*" You would only be asked to *relieve* Regents, who are so hurried that they are glad to be let alone, and thus would shape everything to suit yourself. I concede all that you will claim for the society and surroundings of New Haven, but the educational interests of California are nearly all concentrated at Oakland, a Faculty of a high order is already gathered there, and you would soon be in a position to call around you the best culture in America. I am many years older than you; I know both sides of the continent, and I tell you that such an opening for usefulness and reputation *does not come twice to any man*. I pray you to consider well before you reject such a certainty for anything in the future. The present we *know*. The future can only be read by prophets. My good friend Prof. Brewer (and yours) will *introduce me to you*. *After that*, you will excuse and believe me cordially your friend.

the summer of 1872 Dr. Durant insisted that the Regents find a new President. After his retirement the people of Oakland honored him with the office of mayor, and President Gilman not only found him a warm and valued friend, but took him among the inner circle of his advisers.

That the retirement of President Durant should have led to a renewed effort to secure the services of Professor Gilman is natural enough. Numerous letters and telegrams — from the Regents, the Governor of the State, other prominent citizens and some from personal friends — testify to the degree of importance which was attached to his acceptance of the presidency, and the feeling of the large possibilities which it opened up for the future of the University and of the State. Assurances were given of hearty coöperation; in some of the communications these assurances were coupled with references to the peculiar difficulties of the situation. The vote in the election for President had been in a sense unanimous, the statement made to Professor Gilman in the letter announcing it having been as follows: "There were seventeen Regents present, and the vote stood twelve for you and five blanks. No one but yourself was put in nomination and the blank votes were cast in that way because of some promises made by those Regents for other parties which they did not feel at liberty to disregard."

The President-elect made a brief visit to California, reaching San Francisco at the end of August. From memoranda which he kept of his trip across the continent, we learn that he left New Haven on August 10, going to New York and thence to Saratoga to see President Andrew D. White, and meeting incidentally many other persons of consequence. At Indianapolis he discussed with Governor Baker the plan of Purdue University, the general university outlook in Indiana, and the proposed second Morrill bill, which was more liberally drawn than the one of 1862, with

its obligation on the States to sell their scrip. At Urbana and Farmers City he discussed with Dr. Gregory and Professor Shattuck the difficulties attendant upon the proper conduct of State institutions amid unreasonable popular demands and clamors; the question of dormitories and of cheap and simple club houses for small groups of students; the question of religious services and the moral welfare of the students; industrial education and shop work; agricultural education and instruction in practical farming. In Utah he met Brigham Young and many elders and pioneers. He arrived in San Francisco about the end of August.

During his short sojourn he met the Regents, both officially and informally, and made the acquaintance of some of the more important persons in the vicinity. Professor Louis Agassiz had just arrived in San Francisco, and on the evening of September 2 was given a reception by the Academy of Sciences. Professor George Davidson was president of that society. He was Honorary Professor of Geodesy and Astronomy in the University, Chief of the United States Pacific Coast Survey, and one of the most eminent scientists in the State. At a later time he was largely influential in determining the direction of James Lick's benefactions. On this evening began a firm friendship between Professor Davidson and the new President of the University. President Gilman, being asked to speak, responded as follows:

I cannot but regard it as a most happy omen that the first opportunity I have after coming here to take charge of your educational institution, of meeting with the citizens of this place, is an evening when you are assembled to pay homage and render greeting to one who brings the best culture of the Old World to bear upon the solution of the great problems which appertain to the New, when you are here to greet so eminent a man as he who has just addressed you. I can

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echo his words in a faint way, and take up a few of the thoughts he has dropped. He has told you that the museum at Cambridge is distinguished as the museum of today. Should it not be so with the University? Should it not be a University for the wants of today? Should we not use it for the great problems which belong to this generation, for the great future that is opening upon us? Should we not all unite to gather up the best of the past experience of every nation, the accumulations of all men before us, to bring them to bear upon our society, and upon, I trust you will allow me to say it, our own State of California? One other thought I should like to re-echo. Professor Agassiz has told you that the great want of science is observers, and the great want of society is men. Now, the object of the University is to turn out men, not narrow specialists, though they may be as eminent as possible in this or that department which they may pursue, but men of honest and earnest purpose, men of true wisdom, and that is what the University has before it. I will not prolong these remarks, but let me trust that the true utterances you have heard from the distinguished orator who has spoken to you, that you need an institution for today, and an institution for the training of men, may sink deep into all your hearts and inspire us all for the work which is to come.

At this time Mr. Tompkins' project of endowing a chair in the University was also discussed. The endowment, which was formally announced in the Board of Regents on September 18, inaugurated the new administration with the University's first considerable gift from a private source. It expressed Mr. Tompkins' generosity of sentiment, his love for the institution, and his confidence in President Gilman. The donation was in the form of a piece of land to be sold when it would realize fifty thousand dollars. The professorship was to be one of Oriental Languages and Literature, and in compliment to the great scientist then visiting California, it was to be called the "Agassiz Professorship."

Only one week after President Gilman's inauguration Mr. Tompkins suddenly died. President Gilman had said in his inaugural address: "It is a praiseworthy forethought on the part of one of the Regents which has led him to provide among us for the study of Chinese and Japanese. His presence here cannot restrain me from rendering a public tribute of gratitude for this wise and timely munificence. Let us hope that his generous purposes will, ere long, be realized. To complete the instruction in Oriental tongues, at least two other chairs will be needed, one to be for Hebrew and the Semitic languages, which, perhaps, some other citizen will be glad to establish; and one for Sanskrit and the comparative philology of Indo-European tongues." The development of this donation into a foundation of larger scope through the establishment of an Oriental College was a constant thought and endeavor of President Gilman throughout his administration. The interest of Congress was invoked, a bill was introduced by Senator Sargent, and it looked probable for a while that the Japanese Indemnity Fund then in the hands of the government might be utilized for this purpose.

The inauguration ceremonies were held in Oakland on November 7. The subject of President Gilman's inaugural address was "The Building of the University." It rendered tribute to the men and agencies that had laid the foundations of the University, recognized with cordial sympathy the qualities and tendencies of Californian culture, sketched in a comprehensive manner the elements that must constitute any modern university, and portrayed the spirit that must pervade it. It forecast many of the dangers and difficulties that would have to be worked against, defined the proper relations of Faculty, Regents and State authorities ("Quick to help and slow to interfere," it said, should be the watchword of the last), and laid down the lines along

which the University must develop if it was to meet the requirements marked out by the history and prospects of the State of California.

President Gilman had laid out a program, but his purposes were wider than he had publicly declared. The field seemed to be an open one, and in large measure it was so. The public was generous in its appreciation, and of a mind to be generous in its purse also. The prospect must have seemed to him very fair, even alluring — work to be done, difficulties to be overcome, a public to be instructed. Only two circumstances in the situation were of a really perplexing character.

The first of these was the presence of a certain amount of incompetency and unfitness in the University staff. In so small a faculty the presence of two or three professors in important posts markedly unfit for their positions or manifestly neglectful of their work would necessarily be a very serious drawback. If they were not retained, they would become a center of disaffection or demoralization; if they were summarily removed, there might result in place of the general acclaim a great public outcry, and the whole future might be jeopardized in a moment. What the attitude of the Regents themselves might be could not be predicted; altogether the situation was one in which the path of wisdom was difficult to determine. At all events, President Gilman took no immediate action.

The second difficulty lay in the existing relations between the President and the Board of Regents. In law, and hitherto perhaps in practice also, the president was no more to the regents than any individual professor. Shortly after President Gilman's accession, the board adopted a resolution authorizing the President to participate in its deliberations, and making him a member of all committees;

and a year later a law was passed making him a Regent *ex officio*. But he never had, either by law or understanding, any such authority as American university presidents are accustomed to exercising. This situation was aggravated by the circumstance that the regents as a board were in the habit of looking upon the president as the faculty's representative and upon the secretary as their own, and of setting these two over against each other. For this condition of things, the law was in part responsible; President Holden, a dozen years later, used to say that the law had given the University three presidents — the president *eo nomine*, the secretary of the regents, and the professor of agriculture. During President Gilman's time, it is true, this difficulty was minimized by the helpful and sympathetic attitude of the secretaries, first Mr. A. J. Moulder, and afterwards Mr. R. E. C. Stearns. Nevertheless, the fact remained that there was always this potential opposition as between secretary and president; and, irrespective of the actual attitude of the secretary, the disaffected sought to make him or his office a nucleus of discontent, so that almost inevitably two parties in the faculty and regents were created, one centering in the president and the other in the secretary.

Mr. Gilman, however, did not allow these two difficulties to weigh on his mind, but set to work to accomplish his mission, the effective building up of the University.

He began at the bottom. For the first step he took was the fundamental one of bringing about a better understanding, and more cordial and helpful relations, between the common schools and the University. He found ready co-operation in the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, an exceptionally well-qualified man, H. W. Bolander. The President of the University and the State Superintendent called a conference of University men and teachers in the public schools. The drift of President Gilman's address

and of the discussions was that there ought to be a vital connection between the schools and the University, a perfect gradation on from the primary school, one system with manifold adaptations. This conference was followed up on the part of President Gilman by addresses at high school exercises, by correspondence and conversation with school men throughout the State, and it never lost its effect until the State Constitution as revised in 1879 deprived the high schools of State aid and caused demoralization in Californian education. The work had then to be done over along other lines.

The foundation of the Berkeley Club, an organization which still flourishes, was another thing that engaged Mr. Gilman's attention in the early months of his presidency. Its seventeen original members were a picked body, including ministers, lawyers, journalists and merchants, as well as professors and regents of the University. At a memorial meeting of the Club in honor of Mr. Gilman, Rev. John Knox McLean, President of the Pacific Theological Seminary, the only survivor of the seventeen, thus characterized Mr. Gilman's influence in the creation and maintenance of the Club:

Without his initiative it could never have come into existence; without his fostering care it could never have become a permanency. The history of the Club illustrates what appears to me one of President Gilman's strongest points. . . . He was endowed with an extraordinarily sharp, quick and unerring discernment, first of measures and men, and next of ways and means, not merely as to things in themselves, nor yet as to their latent values — he had all that, and more. With it all was allied the more fruitful sense of how to extract those values, and how, once extracted, to set them into active productiveness. He seemed to grasp the whole at once, at a glance, — the metal in the rock, the particular mode of extracting that special grade or class of metal, of

handling it when extracted, with also the ability to set in motion the required means to bring out a final, finished product, and not stopping there, but also to set the tide of this final product at earning its own daily bread.

The grand incitement with him to the creation of the Club at the time this was founded lay not at all in purposes of mere entertainment, good fellowship, relaxation, not merely as a place and medium for the exchange of ideas and the elucidation of great themes and thoughts. He wanted it just then for a far more concrete purpose, and to those who stood nearest he made no secret of the fact. He wanted it as an implement, an engine, an apparatus, of which he stood at that particular time in great need. . . . In every reference to that period of his experience he has uniformly, in speech or letter, as no doubt to others beside myself, spoken in warm appreciation of the succor received at a time of need through the Berkeley Club.

From some of the other addresses at the Berkeley Club memorial meeting may be drawn remarks bearing on the impression which Mr. Gilman's personality made at this time:

His walk, quick and springy, was that of a man who knew where he was going and what he was going for. A quick movement of the lower lip and the restlessness of the dark eyes indicated an alertness not usual in the college man.

His coming produced an immediate effect upon the college community and upon the public. There was a contagious enthusiasm about him. He was indefatigable, never sparing himself in setting the tasks designed for the advancement of the institution committed to his care. He was a very affable man and most pleasantly approachable to faculty and students alike, and displayed a rare tact in all his intercourse. He sought to be intimately friendly with all, and to assist and help forward every wise and approved activity. He was a keen judge of character, and delighted to discover in young men latent capacities often unknown

to themselves, and it gave him the keenest pleasure to put stimulating opportunities in their way, and then stand aside and watch them grow. The story of the useful lives thus stimulated by his influence in all parts of our country is another proof that the good he did lives after him.

Another subject that claimed the President's attention was the matter of professional education. There were no professional schools yet organized in connection with the University. The need of them was foreshadowed in the inaugural address. Before the end of his administration he hoped he had started the way for a law school. The immediate opportunity presented was the addition of a medical department.

In 1864 Dr. H. H. Toland had founded in San Francisco a medical school, giving it a valuable piece of land and a suitable building. On April 1, 1873, after negotiations between the Trustees of the Toland Medical College and the University Regents, a plan of affiliation was adopted. There was another medical college in San Francisco, and efforts had been made to combine the two into one strong school, but personal jealousies prevented this. Thus two imperfect medical schools occupied the field, and, as President Gilman said in his report in 1875, the "medical department was left behind the other departments of the University, in its standard and requirements for admission, when it should be decidedly in advance." One of the things that might have been accomplished if President Gilman had remained in California was the ultimate uniting of these two institutions into one powerful and commanding medical school. Combination, concentration, avoidance of useless expenditure of energy, one strong instead of several weak departments or institutions: such were words or thoughts constantly recurrent with President Gilman. What was the Toland Medical College has now, in the course of years,

become a progressive and efficient department of the University of California; and what was the Cooper Medical College has become a similar department of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

President Gilman effected the affiliation of the California College of Pharmacy with the University, and advocated the organization of a College of Dentistry, which was effected a few years after his departure.

Then came the need of preparation for removal to Berkeley. The University still occupied the old college buildings in Oakland. The situation was very unsatisfactory. While the buildings were well enough adapted for recitations and lectures, for work in science they were entirely unfitted. It would be a thankless task to spend money if he had it, or to ask for money either from the Legislature or from men of wealth, for the purpose of equipping laboratories in temporary buildings four or five miles away from the permanent site of the University. The ardent wish of President Gilman was, therefore, to hasten the day when the University should find its abiding dwelling-place at Berkeley. The earliest date possible was the opening of the academic year in September, 1873. Every effort was made to bring this about.

The future home of the University and its name were thus referred to in the inaugural address:

You have inherited, also, a good site at Berkeley. When I first stood at Berkeley, and looked at the mountains and the bay, the town and the distant glimpses of the open sea, I recalled an hour under the elms at New Haven, more than two years ago, when I listened to the story of how this spot was chosen, of the rides and walks which were directed by an observing eye over the hills and into the valleys of this charming region, with prophetic anticipation of the coming day when the college germ, already planted, would require a site worthy of its growth. . . .

I hail it as an omen of good, both for religion and learning, that the site of this University bears the name of Berkeley, the scholar and the divine. It is not yet a century and a half since that romantic voyage which brought to Newport, in Rhode Island, an English prelate, who would found a college in the Bermudas, the Sandwich Islands of the Atlantic, for the good of the American aborigines. He failed in seeing his enthusiastic purpose accomplished. He could not do as he would; he therefore did as he could. He gave the Puritan College, in New Haven, a library and a farm, and endowed it in prizes and scholarships which still incite to the learning of Latin. There, his memory is "ever kept green." His name is given to a School of Divinity in the neighboring city of Middletown. It is honored in Dublin and Oxford, and in Edinburgh, where his memoirs have just been written. His fame has crossed the continent, which then seemed hardly more than a seaboard of the Atlantic; and now, at the very ends of the earth, near the Golden Gate, the name of Berkeley is to be a household word. Let us emulate his example. In the catholic love of learning, if we cannot do what we would, let us do what we can. Let us labor and pray that his well-known vision may be true:

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

The Legislature had made an appropriation of three hundred thousand dollars for buildings at Berkeley. The larger portion of this was contracted for in the construction of the building first known as the College of Agriculture, later as South Hall. Another building would be necessary before the University could be moved. How to get it by September, 1873, and for the amount of money in hand, less than one hundred thousand dollars, was a serious problem. The Regents agreed with President Gilman that the second build-

ing must be constructed, and it was decided to build it of wood, instead of granite and brick, the materials of South Hall. One of the Regents, Dr. Samuel Merritt, a wealthy citizen of Oakland, and the owner of a large lumber concern, offered to expedite matters by ordering lumber in advance, and promised to return to the University all profits on the material used that should come through him. He was, besides, a practical builder and architect. Expense could be saved by his drawing the plans and specifications, and by his directing the construction, with the advice of President Gilman as to interior arrangement. This course was pursued, and within ninety-nine working days the building at first known as the College of Letters, later as North Hall, was completed. The designation of these buildings as "Colleges" was resisted by President Gilman at the time and was a source of no little acrimony of discussion. The mere attention to matters connected with the construction of North Hall, four miles distant from the University, kept the President busy.

The corner-stone of North Hall was laid early in May; and on July 16, 1873, Commencement exercises, marking the close of President Gilman's first year, were held in the still unfinished building. The graduating class had been in peculiarly close personal relations with President Gilman and had pursued two courses of study, Political Economy and Physical Geography, under his instruction. The Commencement exercises were of unusual interest. While some of the addresses breathed the feeling of aspiration for a high future for the University, others centered about the name of Bishop Berkeley, a copy of whose portrait at Yale College was presented to the University by Mr. Frederick Billings of Vermont, formerly a Trustee of the College of California. President Gilman's address to the graduating class closed with these words:

With these external rites, let us strive to perpetuate the old spirit of the scholar, the spirit of labor and self-sacrifice, the love of learning and culture, the desire to gather up the spirit of the past for the benefit of the future. With this high commission, the University sends you forth the first of its four-year classes. You are twelve in number, — be jurors, sworn to declare the truth as you find it; be apostles, bearing everywhere the Master's lessons. Young gentlemen, as we part, I invoke upon you the blessing of Almighty God; I bid you welcome to the responsibilities and the opportunities of educated men; I warn you against dishonesty, selfishness and sloth; and in the name of this band of instructors, who have watched for four years the unfolding of your characters, and who will ever be your friends, I bid you, with mingled hopes and fears, an affectionate farewell.

These public exercises, although a Presbyterian minister made an opening prayer and closing benediction, and although the President specially invoked the blessing of Almighty God, and although the Episcopal Bishop of California had given an inspiring address to "commemorate the devotion of the Bishop of Cloyne to the cause of education and religion," were nevertheless misrepresented by a Protestant minister through the press of the United States as an occasion at which "the name of God was not spoken; no prayer was offered; nor was any reference made in any of the young men's speeches to moral or religious ideas. Now, even an atheist does not desire his boy to be trained a materialist." The article was so grossly untrue that President Gilman issued a published statement in correction.

The charter of the University contemplated the organization of distinct "colleges" of Agriculture, Mechanics, Mining, Civil Engineering, Chemistry and Letters, each with its own faculty, but with all the faculties combined into one Academic Senate. A fully developed College of Letters

had been inherited from the College of California, so that when instruction began under the auspices of the University in 1869, there were four classes ready to pursue the classical course. Some means for carrying on this department, besides direct State appropriations for the University at large, had come from the College of California. But at most only the first year of an agricultural or other scientific college could readily be set in motion. Nor would there be, according to the scheme deemed wisest, much difference between the several scientific courses either in the Freshman or the Sophomore year. No income was as yet available from the land scrip. An impartial carrying out of the prescriptions of the Organic Act had been attempted by the Regents.

The University had been in operation three years when President Gilman was placed in charge. He found already developed much agitation and criticism because of the alleged neglect of agriculture and the mechanic arts, the two departments more especially mentioned in the Morrill Act of 1862. The more partisan advocates spoke of them as exclusively mentioned in the Morrill Act, and even went so far as to say that they were the sole object of the State legislation which established the University. Before President Gilman's arrival, Dr. John Le Conte had been appointed Professor of Physics and Mechanics, and the College of Mechanics had been nominally set up; but only nominally, because Professor Le Conte's lectures were in the domain of theoretical science, and had little to do with mechanics as applied to engineering and nothing with industrial processes. It was not practicable to organize the work along these lines, nor was money available for the necessary apparatus. The College of Civil Engineering was recognized contemporaneously with President Gilman's election by the appoint-

ment of Professor Soulé to the chair of Civil Engineering. The College of Chemistry came into being at the same time by the arrival of Professor Willard B. Rising. No real attempt had been made to organize the College of Mining. Little popular attention, however, was paid to scientific departments other than Agriculture and Mechanics, and most of the clamor came from partisans of agriculture, they taking up the cause of the neglected technical mechanical courses. Defense was strong and valid on the part of the Regents, but of course it was not listened to by those not disposed to do so.

President Gilman spoke earnestly and eloquently in his inaugural address on the subject of scientific and technical education. "Science, though yet you have built no shrine for her worship," he said, "was the mother of California," and he declared his "chief anxiety" to be "whether the people of this coast are yet ready to pay for the luxury and the advantage of such serviceable institutions. It will require a great many teachers, costly laboratories, large funds—more, I fear, than the University, with all the claims upon its treasury, is yet able to command."

The subject of technical education was frequently presented throughout his administration by President Gilman in public lectures, beginning with one on that topic before the Mechanics Institute in San Francisco on January 4, 1873, and one a few weeks later in Sacramento entitled "What shall we do with our Boys?" It was a subject of constant thought and planning with him how to effect a University organization that would meet both scientific and vocational needs, and also to build up more strictly technical or trade schools of a lower grade. One of the most intelligent and enthusiastic champions of polytechnic instruction was Andrew S. Hallidie, President of the Mechanics' Institute and Regent of the University. Every movement in



DANIEL COIT GILMAN
At the Age of Forty-three

this direction for more than thirty years had his hearty support, and the successful ones, if not initiated by him, owed their success to him. He and President Gilman were in full accord on the subject. By the beginning of 1874 President Gilman had the outline of a technical school in San Francisco ready, and \$15,000 a year for two years guaranteed to carry it on, Mr. Hallidie being one of the chief backers. But the will of James Lick providing a large bequest for such an institution chilled the enthusiasm of some of the subscribers, and this particular project came to naught. But in later years James Lick's endowment, and another by J. C. Wilmerding, provided San Francisco with efficient schools along the lines which President Gilman had laid down.

As to agriculture, there was no one better able to give it its proper place in the University scheme. But it was a subject on which a judicial and well-balanced statement was not acceptable. President Gilman met here, as on most questions of University organization, the discouraging fact that very few persons in the community comprehended in any degree, as he did fully, the whole round of University work. There was indeed a large body of intelligent persons who were willing to leave the matter to the President of the University, whom they recognized to be a man of abundant ideas and of a well-defined policy. But their support, while it could be counted on, was naturally silent, while the persons who took partial views, advocates of agricultural education in a purely practical direction, or of trade schools, or of a classical college, were outspoken, even to the extent of being clamorous and abusive. He solved this problem of agricultural education, as he solved all like problems, as soon as he got the opportunity, by appointing the man head of the Department of Agriculture who would develop the work, on the right lines and in connection with the whole

University, so thoroughly and so adequately that his course of action would in the end justify itself to all.

The first year was drawing to a close with happiest results. But the seeds of the really malignant disease had not been touched, perhaps the condition had not been clearly diagnosed; and a feverish condition of the atmosphere was now setting in, making an effective operation dangerous.

An excellent summary of the character of President Gilman as an administrator is given in the following extract from an editorial article in the *Overland Monthly* for July, 1873, entitled "The Gain of a Man":

There are some men who have a talent for turning everything touched into gold. All ventures turn out profitably. There is a better gift than this. It is the half-unconscious power of influencing other men to bestow their wealth wisely and beneficently — the faculty of enlisting the interest of others in a good cause. When the University of California found such a man, it was started on a new career of prosperity. There was no perfunctory begging to be done — no preachments about the value of a liberal education, and no poor face to make up. Busy men lent a willing ear when there were a few quiet utterances to be made from a full and generous mind. It never seemed so good and grand a thing before to put broad shoulders to this and that plan for helping the University, and to push these plans up to a successful termination. A suggestion dropped here and there wisely was enough. A strong man, who puts his soul into the work, carries with him the inspiration of hopefulness. Everybody else is made hopeful; and out of this spring plans, suggestions, and quiet benefactions. It is a rare gift, that of touching the best springs of other natures at the right moment, and to follow this with the right suggestion, so that neither more nor less ought to be said or done. We have not had a "melting season" yet. But the hearts of many have warmed toward the University as never before. Perhaps the President could not explain how men have been

drawn to him as the head of the institution, neither is it necessary now. The fact is better than the explanation.

The University began its instruction at Berkeley in September, 1873. From a physical point of view things were pretty well disorganized. The only communication with Oakland was by horse cars, and with San Francisco via Oakland. There were not sufficient accommodations at Berkeley for the students in the way of boarding-places, and no residences for the professors, all of whom continued for a while to live in Oakland. In January, 1873, President Gilman gave a public lecture in the Congregational Church in Oakland on "Berkeley: The Bishop and the Site of the University." He took advantage of the occasion to give his views upon the proper laying out of the college city and the necessity of providing it with all the resources needed by the most advanced communities. He advised a proper regard for the topographical features of the landscape, preserving and utilizing the irregularities of the surface. He would have carriage ways, roads for equestrians, and broad areas of approach. He would like to see a commodious hotel, with restaurant attached that would provide meals for families. He hoped for all of the social attractions which would draw thither an intelligent and refined population. He closed his address with an appeal for the popular encouragement of the University. "The State has dealt liberally, the government has been generous, and one individual has donated nobly, but the needs of the institution are great, and some wealthy citizens have money to spare." He pictured a bright future for Berkeley, and for the young and giant State on the Pacific.

This autumn of 1873 was full of the most cheering promise. So many of the students as lived at Berkeley, whether continuously or from Monday to Friday, had a real

college life, the most intimate ever enjoyed in California. They came to know the Faculty better, as one by one the professors took up their residence at Berkeley; they were brought into close association with the President in one way or another. His optimistic spirit pervaded the whole body. Never had a President more cordial support from the students in the promotion of his ideas. They were in his confidence, but not in a way to exclude the Faculty. All acted together in one family relation of mutual dependence. Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon this unity of interest and sentiment which President Gilman fostered in the University community. He was head of the family, but there were no favorites. The President needed but one introduction to know a person ever after. There was never any hesitation or slip in addressing a student by his right name. Every student he knew personally. He conducted classes this year in political economy and physical geography, the next year in political economy and history. Whatever the subject, it had the widest import in respect to all human relations. There was never a lecture that did not bring forth some vital suggestion. Resort to the library was stimulated, and it was now for the first time used for purposes of research. Many a student was led to find here the real intellectual life of the University. And many a student got his first real impulse to the more absorbing purposes of his life from these lectures, so informal and so suggestive, or from personal interviews with President Gilman.

At the Friday afternoon assemblies, members of the Faculty gave addresses, and persons prominent in the State or from abroad were frequently heard. Newton Booth, Governor and later United States Senator, F. F. Low, former Governor and United States Minister in China, President Miner of Tufts College, Professor Bessey of Ames, Iowa, Professor Brewer of New Haven, Rev. Dr. Stebbins,

Unitarian minister in San Francisco and University Regent, Rev. Charles Kingsley, Canon of Westminster, were among the speakers on various occasions. The meeting at which Charles Kingsley spoke was the most memorable of these early occasions at Berkeley. It was frequently recalled by President Gilman in after years. The simplicity and sincerity of his greeting to those who were living in this "world beyond the world," as he expressed it, touched the heart of the University community. The name of "Berkeley" given to the college settlement started him on an enthusiastic prophecy for a society inspired with such idealism as to couple this name with its University. "If he could see a school of Berkeleyan philosophy founded on this side of the continent, he would think that California had done a great deal for the human race, — a great deal for Europe as well as for America." When no one else was available, or when the promised speaker failed, President Gilman himself filled the hour, out of the abundant resources of his experience or from the overflowing treasury of his plans and projects. Or it might be that he kept a Friday afternoon especially for himself, when he had some particular news to communicate or some message to deliver.

A meeting in November, 1873, is particularly remembered when he gave an address on "What Eastern Colleges are Doing," being a report as it were of his recent vacation observations. He discussed first the extraordinary munificence of wealthy men toward institutions of higher learning. "This munificence is without parallel in any other country, and unequalled in any age. It is spreading from man to man and from State to State, and appears to delight the givers as much as the recipients, for the givers, in many cases, have duplicated and triplicated and multiplied without stint their donations, finding their reward in the gratitude of their fellow-men, and in the satisfaction of seeing the

rising generations trained and educated by the best methods of the best minds." He dwelt on the growing tendency to concentrate institutions of learning of various kinds in one neighborhood, and under some bond of union or affiliation, by which each might strengthen every other. This was a favorite theme, and he had many forcible illustrations to present. "It is most desirable that this, our State, so full of intelligence and enterprise, so quick to copy what is good elsewhere, and to devise new and good things for herself, will recognize the wisdom of concentration, and will unite around the University of the State, as the nucleus to which may be added all the manifold appliances and devices of modern higher education." He then spoke of the bold and steady modifications in plans of instruction that were going on, corresponding on the one hand with the advances of modern science, and on the other with the requirements of different mental proclivities, and with the different life-purposes among the students. Of course, he was in the heartiest accord with this tendency, and was one of its chief promoters. And, again, he touched upon another of his principles of education when he said: "It is interesting to notice the increasing importance attached to the eye as the portal of the brain. The ear is not regarded with any less respect because the eye is receiving more consideration, but both eye and ear are simultaneously and equally employed." He did not on this occasion speak of the education of the hand, but the text of a portion of an address some years later at the Teachers' College of Columbia University, "The eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee," was the subject of frequent lectures in California. This Berkeley lecture in November, 1873, he closed by saying: "The last point to which I call attention is this, that everywhere the real efficiency of a college is admitted to consist, not chiefly in buildings nor in sites, nor in apparatus,

but in the number and character of the teachers who are employed. It is the large and well-qualified staff of instruction which makes Harvard so great. It is money to secure more teachers which the University of California requires."

The history, institutions and achievements of California made a very strong appeal to him. He entered with enthusiasm into whatever concerned the people of the State. In his inaugural address he had referred to the scientific and literary work accomplished in California in the following appreciative passages:

Besides, we must not fail to note that a vast amount of scientific and literary work, of a very high order, has been performed in California, — good, not only in itself, but as the seed-corn of future harvests. The work of the United States Coast Survey on the Pacific, for example, . . . has gained renown for California science, not in our own country only, but in Europe, and has helped prepare the way for a complete triangulation of the national territory. . . . There is the Geological Survey of the State, which surpasses in thoroughness and completeness any like undertaking in the country, and is the delight and pride of all men of science who take an interest in the accurate and careful investigation of the natural characteristics of the land, either for its own sake, or regarded as a basis for social and political growth. . . . Binding all the men of science together as a brotherhood of scholars is the Academy of Sciences, whose publications and collections are already of great value. A young society which has done so well will be an important supporter of the young University. . . .

Moreover, the literature of this coast possesses, like the fruits here growing, a richness and flavor of its own, so that some have even said that California alone of all parts of the land has made quite new and original contributions to American letters. The humor, the wit and the poetry of the Sierras are fresh, as the breezes of the hill-tops, and as spicy as the groves of pine. Oratory has here spoken with a patriotic voice, the echoes of which are still floating in the

air. To foster your literature, there is a journal whose fame has gone over land and over seas as well, the encourager, the suggester, and the producer of much that is choice and enduring.

The spirit of the place got firmer hold of him as he dwelt longer in California. He took part in the activities of the community. He was a constant attendant at scientific meetings. He stimulated scientific research outside the University as well as inside. "University extension" found in him a living, active prototype. Literary men and literary journals were cheered by his voice of encouragement. He was quick to recognize in Edward R. Sill, then a teacher in the Oakland high school, the spirit of the true poet and man of letters. He first invited him to become a charter member of the Berkeley Club, where not only his delicate and fertile literary fancy would add to the general enjoyment, but the soundness and suggestiveness of his counsel would be of great value. As soon as there was a fitting vacancy, he added Sill's name to the roll of the Faculty. Numerous slight events might be mentioned, such as the occasion when the President laid before the University community the manuscript and proof-sheets of Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee," the gift of Mr. John H. Carmany of the *Overland Monthly*. He pointed to the fact that it was the breath of California that Bret Harte breathed. California is not wholly or even essentially given over to the pursuit of material fortunes; it has an intellectual atmosphere; its spirit is idealistic. Let us cherish its literature; what has been done is good; it is full of promise for the future.

In the matter of art he was not less enthusiastic than in that of literature. He wanted the art that had been achieved recognized and the artists rewarded, and he wanted art to be fostered and developed in the future. Virgil Williams and other artists of the day were brought to Berkeley

and introduced to the University community. He laid plans for the affiliation of the San Francisco School of Design and the Art Association with the University, a project many years later accomplished.

He foresaw possible relations of great value that might be established between California and the shores of the Pacific Ocean, whether American, Asiatic or on the islands of the sea. He wished the University to play the leading part in this as in all matters pertaining to the progress of California. Speaking on this subject in his inaugural address, he said:

The possible relations of this University to the new civilization of the Pacific Coast, and to the enlightenment of Asiatic nations, give a special interest to its work, for it is obvious that California is not only granary, treasury and mart for the American States that are growing up on this coast, but it is the portal through which the Occident and Orient must exchange their products and their thoughts. China and Japan, Australia and the Islands of the Sea, are the neighbors and customers of the Golden State. Shall they not also look here for instruction in the arts and sciences, and for an example of a well-organized and well-educated community? . . . We cannot be too quick to prepare for the possible future which may open upon us.

During the administration of President Gilman the increase of public interest in the University was indicated by many gifts and bequests, which may strike us to-day as of minor importance, but which were significant in the day of small things. In an address to the Legislature in January, 1874, when he had been in office little more than a year, he stated that the University had since his accession received gifts amounting to about \$190,000. Besides the gifts actually made to the University during Mr. Gilman's presidency, other important contributions to its development were

planned for the future; in this category belongs, above all, the formation of the Lick Educational Trust, including provision for the great Observatory, which was to become the Astronomical Department of the University.

In the meanwhile political developments were taking place which were destined to make very difficult the task of carrying on the University upon liberal lines. The contest for supremacy between the two leading national parties had for years been very close in California, and in the early seventies opposition to government subsidies to railroad corporations had become a leading issue between them. In 1873 there arose a new party, known under the name of Patrons of Husbandry or Grangers, which drew from the two historic parties and attracted all the dissatisfied elements of society. It made special affiliations with associations of mechanics. Its chief objects of attack were excessive rates of railroad freights and fares and extravagant expenditures of public money; and it was ready to bring, without much discrimination or scruple, charges of waste and corruption against any public institution. It soon formed an alliance with a faction of the Republican party, the composite organization being known officially as the People's Independent Party. Because of the ill-assorted character of its demands, and more especially of its diverse or parti-colored make-up, it was popularly known as the Dolly Varden party.

The new party won a decisive victory in the legislative election of 1873 over the Democrats and straight Republicans. At the session of the resulting Legislature the proceedings were determined to an unusual degree by members of inferior quality and ability, the noisier leaders overcoming the arguments of the abler men, though these sometimes turned the current of events when the agitators had exhausted themselves with bluster. A large number of public

institutions or public enterprises were made objects of unfriendly investigation, with little regard to their real character and conduct. Political capital, to be derived from blemishing the character and acts of the professional and capitalist classes, was often the end really in view; and another object was the punishment of any institution which had failed to conform to the regulations of the labor organizations.

During the early autumn of 1873 the California State Grange and the Mechanics' Deliberative Assembly appointed committees to examine into University affairs and recommend appropriate legislation. A memorial was addressed to the Legislature directed towards an increase of "practical" instruction in the College of Agriculture and Mechanics, and the substitution of an elective board for the appointed Regents.

Information on the subject of the controversy which is now beginning to take shape is supplied by the following letter from Regent John W. Dwinelle to President Gilman, dated December 13, 1873:

Permit me to say, in a hurried manner, a few things germane to the subject-matter of our late correspondence.

Professor Bolander came down from Sacramento with me last evening. I had a free conversation with him on that topic. He told me that Professor Carr had said that he meant to compel the Regents, *by outside pressure*, to let him have his own way. I think Mr. Bolander said that Professor Carr said this to *him*. He also said that Professor Carr's notions had been tried and rejected in Europe. Professor Bolander is good authority on these points, both as being German born and in part educated; as being a highly esteemed botanist; and *virtute officii*, as Superintendent.

I don't think we should let the matter lie as it is. The joint committee of the Grangers and Mechanics *show* by the letter which you sent me several things, among others:

1. That they have *agreed* to recommend several things (they have not consulted the Regents about them);
2. That they think the courses of the University are not *practical* enough;
3. That they think that the College of Letters is favored at the expense of the technical colleges;
4. That they think the land fund was *especially* devoted to agriculture and the mechanic arts.

They evidently think that they have all the information they need, and have no suspicion that it came from a partisan source, nor that it may all be literally true, but in fact all false. They were directed by their respective associations to "examine and ascertain," and think that they have done so.

I suggest that they be addressed in some form, to the following purport:

That we are glad to learn that such committees had been appointed, for it had been a cause of chagrin to us that the public had not taken interest enough in our work to subject it to thorough and impartial scrutiny. That when we learned that such committees had been appointed, we appointed two committees to meet them, and assist them in their inquiries and examinations, leaving them to form their own conclusions, and announce the result. That in particular we desired our financial operations and condition to be examined, for on that depends the very existence as well as the usefulness of the institution; and the appropriations would also show whether or not the intentions of Congress and of the Legislature had been loyally carried out. That we were anxious that our committees should be put in communication with theirs at an early day. . . .

These are hints of what is floating in my brain, but only floating: *non expressa signa sed adumbrata*.

A special circumstance served greatly to increase the difficulties of the situation. The lecture hall at Berkeley, at first known as the "College of Letters," had been constructed under conditions already set forth. A State law provided for an eight-hour day in all public work. Another

law required all public buildings to be constructed by day's labor, and prohibited contracts therefor. In 1872 a law was passed exempting buildings to be erected for the University from the operation of laws applying to State buildings in general. The Regents construed, or assumed, this to be an exemption from the eight-hour law as well as from the day's labor law, and acted accordingly in the erection of the College of Letters. No one, until late in the ensuing investigation, questioned the correctness of the Regents' interpretation of the law. The only accusation on this score was that they had, as a matter of fact, required ten hours' work a day.

In 1872 Henry George became editor of the San Francisco *Daily Evening Post*. He had previously for a short time had editorial charge of a newspaper in Oakland, where, his biographer tells us, he "made the acquaintance of William Swinton, brother of John Swinton, the well-known radical of New York. . . . He (William Swinton) was a man of wide reading in the field of belles-lettres, of quick mind, fine taste and copious suggestiveness; and though sprung from and following the schools, formed a close affinity with this young editor, who could not boast of ever having had any college connections. Then and in the years following Swinton drew George out and encouraged him to aim at the higher domain of literature." George was, in the words of his biographer, now "beginning to think clearly on the great social as well as the great political questions." He had certain economic, social and political objects in view, and he wrote out boldly to attain them, but sometimes blindly and frequently in a way that was misdirected and prejudiced. In December 1872 he announced a movement that on first sight appeared to pass a sound and endowment act for colleges. In November 1873 an editorial on "Agricultural Land" took issue with some of the worst and even caused Mr. George to say the Agricultural Col-

lege Act. This act has been a popular one, owing to the dense ignorance of the American people on all economic subjects, and their habit of regarding the public land as surplus property possessing an intrinsic value of its own, and Congress as a grand almoner, which in such gifts as these draws upon some mysterious fund belonging to nobody in particular, instead of upon the earnings of the workers of the country." He never tired of this topic. In January, 1872, he said: "The original idea was that the University should be a college of industry. . . . It was under this pretense that the land grants were made which have proved such a curse to California, and it was for this purpose that the State has made such large donations. But the Regents, to whose care the institution was intrusted, have perverted the University from its original design into a college of the classics and polite learning." When he could no longer shelter himself under the claim of a "perversion" of the University, he called for a statutory destruction of all parts of the institution except the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. He was now influenced by Professor Carr, or by Professor Swinton acting in behalf of Professor Carr and against the administration of the University, and by the Grangers and Mechanics. On December 9, 1873, he said in the editorial correspondence of the *Post* from Sacramento: "Investigations, this session, will be the order of the day. Among other things, an investigation will be made into the management of the State University, which, it is said, is unnecessarily expensive. There are also rumors that some of the Regents have profited by their connection with the institution." On January 6, 1874, he published a sensational editorial on the University, making allegations of "fraud and corruption" in the construction of the College of Letters and urging the Legislature to investigate. Later he gave advice as to the composition of the investigating

committee. On January 20 he had an editorial headed "Boss Merritt: Biggest Fraud on Record." On January 22, in discussing the "swindle," he said, "considering the character of the parties implicated, the nature of the institution swindled, and the shameless manner in which it was done, the case is the blackest that has yet been developed in California, and in boldness and meanness, if not in magnitude, throws the operations of Boss Tweed in New York in the shade."

How utterly unreliable George's judgment might be, when he was hunting for error and wrongdoing, may be illustrated by the amazing assertions, used as editorial texts in the *Post*, that the snow-blockades that impeded trans-continental transportation were brought about in the interest of railroad stock-jobbing schemes. Such distortions exceed the limits of journalistic exaggeration. Even when, for the sake of making the attack on Dr. Merritt more pointed, he admitted that the Regents at large were innocent of any misconduct and were at most censurable for indiscretion in giving so much authority to Dr. Merritt, he still managed to involve the whole governing board in what he chose to call a "scandal." And when the result of the investigation showed that the University had got a building for thirty thousand dollars less than it would have cost under the system ordinarily employed, and in half the time, thus saving the institution other expenses and difficulties, and that Dr. Merritt had not even made the profit that he would have had for his lumber from any other customer, there are still no limits to the abuse heaped on Dr. Merritt, and the general disparagement of the University continues. The minor note that runs through the whole investigation is the infraction of the eight-hour law. Dr. Merritt and Power & Ough, the firm that received the contract for building the College of Letters, had made themselves offensive in labor circles;

they were regarded as having opposed, if not for the time broken up, the eight-hour movement in Oakland. There are two or three matters that cropped out, and were used as annoying prods to the University authorities. One was an irregularity in opening the bids, which, however, does not seem to have affected the result of the bidding. Another was that Power & Ough had had special dealings with Dr. Merritt, and that they removed soon after the construction of the College of Letters from California, even to Nova Scotia. A third matter was that the cost of the building had been increased over the original bids by some twelve thousand dollars by reason of alterations in the original plans made by President Gilman's advice. All of these facts were made the most of by what may be fitly called the prosecution. The Regents had, indeed, violated a principle of fundamental importance when they allowed one of their number to be concerned in contracts with the institution. They thought, perhaps naïvely, that the exigencies of the situation justified this, and they were able to plead a saving made by it.

The activity among the Regents may be seen by the following letter from Regent Dwinelle to President Gilman, under date of February 3:

We had our meeting of the Advisory Committee today, thanks to your thoughtful diligence. Messrs. Haight, Stebbins, Martin, and Dwinelle, a quorum, were present. Messrs. Ralston and Butterworth were also present by invitation, — also Mr. Moulder.

Gov. Haight had seen Speaker Estee, on Saturday, who had, without any communication with me, given him precisely the same advice that I gave you and Dr. Merritt on Saturday evening.

We all agreed, unanimously, that we should, by memorial, ask the Committee on Public Buildings of the Assembly to be *let in* to introduce further testimony; also,

That we should memorialize the legislature to appoint a Joint Committee of both Houses, to inquire and report:

1. Whether the matter of agricultural education had been properly attended to in the University, and if not, why not, and in what particulars;

2. Whether the agricultural lands *donated by the State to the University* had been properly administered, and if not, why not, and in what particulars;

3. Whether the funds entrusted by the State to the Regents have been properly administered, and if not, why not, and in what particulars.

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I propose to have the memorials presented in the Senate, have the resolutions adopted there, and then sent *immediately* to the Assembly for concurrence. They will be adopted at once by the Assembly. . . .

The first resolution is a pious snare. The Devil did not assist me in drawing it, but only an imp of his, Niccolo Machiavelli by name. It gives us all the power we want to eviscerate Tomaso Machinello, commonly called Massaniello, the fisherman of Naples, friend of the people!

If the Assembly don't concur in the joint resolution, then the Senate will adopt it, for their own body, from a sense of self-dignity.

Après ça, quoi? Well, I don't know. Only that if we have the materials of defence, we must use them. I told the Regents today, as I told you, that *I* cannot be relied upon to aid them, and I told them why. Yet I told them, also, that I would contribute my quota of the expense of getting Power and Ough here, and they all agreed to do the same; Mr. Ralston adding that they should be got here at *any* expense. . . .

Among the men in California of finest character was Benjamin P. Avery. He was a well-known journalist of the highest type. He was a special friend of the arts and a promoter of good objects in general. He was later United States Minister in China. No one's opinion was more

highly respected among his contemporaries. On January 21 he wrote these cordial words to President Gilman:

Mr. Slocum has just told me what he learned from one of the University investigating ignoramuses. I am sorry I was not in when you called, but let me say through this poor medium, — don't be discouraged; don't believe the public fail in appreciation of your splendid service to culture and progress in California, nor that the legislature will be so foolish as to meddle with the interior organization of the University, which they have intrusted to the Regents. I am firmly convinced that all will come out right. We cannot spare you here, and will not. The few of us who have been hoping and working a quarter of a century in the direction of your aim, though without your ability and success, will all stand by you and the cause you represent. I am mad, but not discouraged. We shall win this fight, and want you to bear with our ignorant destructives awhile. Be sure of sympathy and support.

On March 18 Mr. Avery wrote as follows to President Gilman:

I only did a public duty in the brief letter to the *Post* which you refer to in your kind note of the 16th. It was not what I would like to have written, because some points about the Regents and the course of education were omitted; and these I asked to give in another communication yesterday. But I have been quite unwell for a week, am in danger of being confined with rheumatism, and fear to write more than I am absolutely compelled to. It is a satisfaction to know, however, that I spurred up the *Bulletin* and *Chronicle*. Thank heaven, the legislature will soon adjourn, and then the demagogues will be quiet again. You will find a temperate reference to University matters in *Overland* for April.

A brief note from William Alvord shows the effect which thoughtful and observant people might think the course of

events would have on the mind of President Gilman. Mr. Alvord was Mayor of San Francisco, and was later, after the death of Mr. Ralston, President of the Bank of California. He was always an upholder of the higher interests of the community. Mr. Alvord wrote on March 19:

The newspapers which are attempting to disparage your good work are unworthy of notice. I assure you that the best people in the community are with you; and that they would consider it a public misfortune should anything happen to take you away from us.

Mr. Avery, as he said in his letter to President Gilman of March 18, published two letters in the *San Francisco Post*, one on March 14, the second on March 20. They were able and eloquent refutations of the charges against the University authorities; they pleaded especially for a discrimination between the business management of the University and its character as an institution of learning. "The aim should be to correct the one, if necessary, not to destroy or weaken the other." He says that the *Post's* editorials are "not so much an arraignment of the management, as of the wisdom of the organic law by which the Regents were necessarily governed." These letters vividly portray the grounds of alarm and apprehension felt among those who, like Mr. Avery, had been in California "for a quarter of a century, laboring from the beginning to create a well-ordered society."

On the evening of January 26 President Gilman addressed the members of the Legislature in the Assembly Chamber, at Sacramento. "You ask me," he said, "to tell the tale of the University of California, its scope, progress, dangers, wants and use. Without one word of abstractions on the importance of education, the value of colleges or the responsibilities of legislators, I enter on the theme." He

did not leave undiscussed any essential point for the complete understanding of the present situation and condition of the University. Near the close of the address he said:

I acknowledge that with all the success there are very great defects. There are some that can be helped and we intend to help. There are some that cannot be helped. There are the defects that come in the selection of teachers. There are the errors that come in marking out the courses of study; the difficulties attendant on removing to a new site; the endless perplexities that bother us in the education of our own minds and still more in the culture of our own children; but with all these drawbacks the State of California has got what it went after. It has got a University. . . . But success brings with it peril — great perils. In the direction of support there is danger that there will be too little interest shown in the institution. There is danger that there will be too much interest in it and too much interference. There is danger that you, gentlemen, won't give us enough. There is danger that we shall ask too much. . . . It is in danger of being captured. There are religious bodies that would like to control it or see it die, in order that separate denominational colleges might grow up in its stead. . . . Then come the theorists; there are men who want it to be a purely literary, classical college — the old-fashioned sort. There are men that don't want to have anything to do with the old-fashioned sort and they would like to capture it for the "new education." . . . Gentlemen, there is danger from impatience. You not only want a good thing, but you want it right off. . . . There is danger to the University from dislike to some persons connected with it as managers. . . . In conclusion, it seems to me that what the University needs is steady, stable treatment. You should allow the experiment to be fairly tried — don't pull up the roots that you may see whether the thing is growing or not; it will very likely kill the plant.

The investigation by the Assembly committee into the construction of the College of Letters was begun on Janu-

ary 16, 1874, and continued to March 2. The testimony covers 464 pages. The report of the committee exculpates the Regents from any wrongdoing and admits the economy in the construction of the building, but it is so expressed as to make reservations, and assumes a censorious tone toward the University authorities, with a view to making political capital for the Dolly Vardens.

In response to the memorial of the Regents a joint committee was appointed on February 9, to examine into the management of the University. The report of this committee constituted in effect a reply to the memorial of the Grangers and Mechanics. It said: "The committee is of the opinion that the Regents and Faculty have done well, considering their means and surroundings; that they deserve the sympathy and support of the people at large."

The outcome of University bills before the Legislature is thus expressed in an editorial in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 31, 1874: "Notwithstanding all the fierce talk against the University outside of the legislature, that body, just after a vicious onset had been made against the institution, actually appropriated a larger sum for the current expenses of the next two years than was at first asked for by the Regents; this appropriation was made with more than usual unanimity."

* On March 26 that brilliant and versatile man, William C. Ralston, President of the Bank of California, sent the following telegram to President Gilman:

I beg you will kindly express to the senators who so nobly defended and sustained the University the most united and cordial thanks of the Regents and of all our prominent and most enlightened citizens who regard that institution as the pride and hope of the State. The signal defeat of its enemies, who under various pretenses, but for purely selfish ends, sought to break it down or cripple its usefulness, is

matter for public rejoicing. The assault, however, has done great damage by disclosing the danger to be apprehended from disorganizing political elements, and we shall have hard work to overcome the effects of it. Many true friends of the University who designed making liberal benefactions will hold back until assured that the danger is past. If a political fight is to be made over it at every session of the legislature and the management liable to fall into the hands of irresponsible and unprincipled demagogues, they will stand aloof. We must hope for the best and stand by our beloved institution.

This acute crisis in the University's affairs was thus ended, and never was so great a peril to be encountered again. But it was impossible to foresee that. What had happened in the way of popular upheaval seemed merely symptomatic of what might happen again at any time, and with more disastrous effect. It could not even be known that the Dolly Vardens had had their day, and would never play a part again in the political game. It could not then be known that the influence of the Grangers would soon be on the wane. And if the first movements of the "sand-lot" agitation could have been foreseen, darkest anxiety would have prevailed among the friends of the University, and no one of less optimistic spirit than Mr. Ralston would have had the heart to say, "We must hope for the best and stand by our beloved institution." He, sanguine in spirit and true Californian in his confidence in the State's destiny, would, with other Regents, have stood by the University as the main conservator of civilization.

President Gilman's feelings during this period may be judged from the following extracts from his correspondence.

Writing to his brother on February 28, he says:

The legislature is still in session, and its mode of procedure is such as to awaken in my mind the gravest appre-

hensions. I cannot tell you all the circumstances, but the point is an effort on the part of the Farmers' Grange to capture the University and turn it into a sort of low manual-labor school. This it is proposed to accomplish either by abolition of the present Board of Regents or by special legislation or by both. I am infinitely disgusted, and were it not for the respect I feel for the excellent people who are so manfully striving here for the main thing, and were it not for the confidence I have that the University idea is to triumph in the end, — I should be quite discouraged. I am very much perplexed and engrossed. All my friends whom I ought to advise with are 3000 miles away.

And again on March 11 :

On Monday I went to Sacramento, a six hours' ride, and came back Tuesday. I must go again to the capital tomorrow and return the next day. Gov. Haight and Dr. Stebbins were my companions on the first trip and I expect them to go again tomorrow. They have been most excellent friends and supporters ever since I came here and are excellent illustrations of Harvard and Yale training. Our effort now is to ward off unwise legislation and to secure as hitherto some appropriations. The story of how the Farmers' Grange are trying to capture the University will be a droll one, some years hence, if it ever comes to be written.

He enters extensively into the situation, and into the possibilities regarding his own future which it caused him to consider, in a letter to President White, dated April 5 :

I received on Thursday your letter of the week previous (Mch. 26). I have not seen the *Post* article to which you refer, — but if you had known exactly what was passing in my mind you could not have written me a more cheering letter. "Our" legislature adjourned last week. During the last few days of the session, Prof. Swinton, whose resignation had been unanimously accepted by the Regents, appeared at Sacramento, as the opponent of the Univ. and the

matter for public rejoicing. The assault, however, has done great damage by disclosing the danger to be apprehended from disorganizing political elements, and we shall have hard work to overcome the effects of it. Many true friends of the University who designed making liberal benefactions will hold back until assured that the danger is past. If a political fight is to be made over it at every session of the legislature and the management liable to fall into the hands of irresponsible and unprincipled demagogues, they will stand aloof. We must hope for the best and stand by our beloved institution.

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advocate of the Granges. He issued a pamphlet so extreme as to be absurd; but by his newspaper affiliations, he succeeded in getting his chief statements widely copied. This was very annoying though it did but little harm. The Joint Univ. Comm. reproached him and commended the Regents. The legislature refrained from all adverse legislation, made the Pres. an ex-officio member of the Board of Regents, and gave us all the pecuniary help we had asked for. So we stand today. But the peril to the Univ. has been great. The Grangers were determined to capture the concern, — up to the last moments were endeavoring to abolish the Board of Regents, and substitute a Board chosen by popular election — two from each congressional district. Dr. Carr, who appears to have instigated the whole movement, at the last of it backed down, testified that he had never heard any complaint! that as far as indoor instruction was concerned, the Univ. compared favorably with any institution in the country, etc., etc.! The whole battle had its droll as well as its provoking side.

What you say of like perils in other places interests me very much. Misery likes company. But I am only sorry that you are so vexed, — after having achieved such good results. I have thought often of your long letter, and of the talks it gave rise to last fall. I don't know what I should say if I were called on to make a decision. At the present, my mind turns more to the direction of editorial life, — either in the newspaper line, or in establishing a monthly to be called "Earth and Man," — and to be devoted to the discussion of modern social problems, — with reference both to the physical and outward circumstances of human society and to the historical and institutional antecedents. I merely give you a hint of the scope, — but you will quickly expand it. There is no such journal in the world. The graphic methods of illustrating social and historical papers could be most efficiently introduced. It might be made a journal of anthropology, — not of man's body only, but of all his social progress. Such work as Walker is doing for the U. S. Census could be expanded and multiplied indefinitely. History and political economy might be treated on a scientific basis. This is not a prospectus, however, only

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splendid work in the class-room. But he had from the beginning been notoriously neglectful of his University duties. He was frequently absent from his lectures; his classes, when so disposed, would "cut" in a body. Often it was a game of hide-and-seek between professor and class. If the professor was five minutes late, the class left; if the class was five minutes late, the professor left. The game came to be somewhat organized for the benefit of a lazy professor and not over-zealous students. The students posted a lookout while they stood around the corner of the building. If after the bell had rung, and before the five minutes had elapsed, the professor was seen slowly approaching, the class was notified, and would cut and run. Professor Swinton had, furthermore, become absorbed, so far as intellectual work was concerned, in the production of school text-books. In the autumn of 1873 one of his University courses was conducted by his reading, while correcting, the proof-sheets of his "Universal History."

Professor Swinton was, indeed, now out of the University. That problem had been eliminated, though not without leaving baneful effects behind. But Professor Carr was still in the Faculty, and one of the Regents had promised immunity for him if the Legislature would drop the bill remodeling the Board of Regents. The Regent, Mr. Dwinelle, who made the immunity agreement, was the author of the charter of the University, and the institution had no more devoted and, generally speaking, intelligent friend than he. Nor was the promised immunity what it was generally claimed and popularly believed to be, an absolute promise that Professor Carr should not be disturbed if the bill in question was dropped. It apparently was made with reference to the accusations against Professor Carr that he had instigated the anti-University measures; and Mr. Dwinelle was ready to withdraw any such accusations. He ac-

cordingly promised that no attempt should be made to remove the Professor of Agriculture unless "for such causes as would remove a professor from any chair," (these are the words as given by Professor Carr himself in a lengthy pamphlet, published in September, 1874). But this promise of immunity, whatever it was, was there to add trouble in the displacement of Professor Carr. It was useless to attempt any genuine improvement in the Department of Agriculture while he held the professorship, and no great advance could be expected in the University at large without improving the College of Agriculture. The situation was disheartening. The public could only see that the University had been triumphant before the Legislature; and, on the other hand, men of wealth were indisposed to aid an institution open to demagogic agitation. President Gilman had placed large reliance upon securing endowments from wealthy men; and he now foresaw that the University could not, for many years, hope to make much progress while dependent solely upon its national and State endowments and biennial legislative appropriations.

Under these discouraging circumstances he addressed to the Board of Regents the following letter of resignation, dated April 8:

I believe that the real controversy which has been carried on during the last few months arises from a deep and radical difference of opinion as to the scope of the University of California. On the one hand are those who insist upon it that the chief object is to maintain *an* Agricultural College, or, as it is sometimes more liberally stated, *a* College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts. They call for a large increase in the "practical" elements of instruction, often going so far as to insist that instruction in carpentry, blacksmithing and other manual and useful trades should be taught in the University. On the other hand are those who insist upon it that the constitution and laws of the State,

the conditions of the endowments, and the highest interests of California demand a true University, in which indeed there should be maintained at least one college of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, — but where the best of every sort of culture should likewise be promoted. These claim that the most practical service which the University can render to the State is to teach the principles of science, and their applications to all the wants of men, and at the same time to teach all that language and history have handed down as the experience of humanity.

The University of California is now organized on a comprehensive and liberal basis. Its plans are in accord with the best experience of modern institutions in other States and countries. *I believe in it as it stands*, rejoicing that in so short a time so much has been done, with such promise of good fruit ripening rapidly. I am heartily in sympathy with the introduction of science into higher educational establishments and eager to see also the wide diffusion of technical instruction. But because I cannot assent to some of the radical demands which would overthrow the University, abolish the Regents, and entirely change the present course of study, I am exposed to censure.

The honorable post which I hold by your appointment was not of my seeking. I came to it with hesitation, when your invitation was renewed after an interval of two years from its first proposition. I have tried to the utmost of my ability to conciliate the various conflicting parties and beg them to sink the points on which they differ for the sake of those on which they agree; to make a University of the most liberal, elevated and comprehensive sort, worthy of California, worthy of the 19th century, worthy to train up the future citizens of this great State. You have as a Board and as individuals strengthened me in this effort, — encouraged me amid many difficulties, conquered many obstacles, and remained true to the University idea. You have received the co-operation of multitudes of the most intelligent and far-sighted persons in the community. You have had the satisfaction of attaining great results within a short time, which have attracted the attention of intelligent people at home and abroad.

Notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding that my record as an advocate of technical instruction is clear and decided, it is probable that some one else will better serve you in the present complexities. For University fighting I have had no training; in University work I delight. I therefore beg of you to release me from the post I hold, at the earliest day you can consistently do so. I only ask leave to present more fully for your consideration at another time the embarrassments to which I have been subjected from within as well as from without the University circle.¹

This resignation does not appear of record in the University archives. No mention is made of it at any proceedings of the University authorities. It was submitted to the Regents, who quietly persuaded President Gilman to withdraw it. The only documentary reference we have to the situation is the following letter from Regent Haight to President Gilman, dated April 14:

I sat down some days since to write you a note respecting our meeting Saturday, which was to my mind a very satisfactory and assuring one.

The disposition manifested by the Regents to act with firmness in any direction where the interests of the University require action was all that could be desired, and the entire unanimity of the Board was certainly gratifying. When I say *entire* unanimity, it may be that one member of the Board entertains some peculiar views of his duty, but that is immaterial.

My confidence in the ultimate result of all this rude and senseless clamor is strengthened by the present aspect of matters.

The Regents will not suffer you to leave if they can help it. You have every reason to feel gratified with the estimate in which you are held by them and by the intelligent portion of the community.

¹ The words after "subjected" in the last sentence of the above letter are crossed out in the original.

President Gilman's letters after the storm had subsided show decided satisfaction with the immediate situation, but very grave doubts about the future. Writing to President White on May 12, he says:

We seem to have come out in still waters, — and have a smooth prospect for the next two years, but I should not like to go through such a tussle again. Swinton and Carr, plotting mischief, within our own ranks, one of them eager to sell books and the other to hide his own incompetency, were too much for any institution to carry. I often thought during the winter that I should quit at this time, — but the legislature did so well, and the Regents stand so firm, that I cannot resign here without some very strong reason presents itself for doing so.

To his sister, Mrs. G. W. Lane, on June 2:

We have just had the annual meeting of the Regents, at Berkeley, a large attendance, good feeling and gratifying spirit of work. Gov. Booth was here. Gov. Haight (just leaving for the East) was detained, but he does not withdraw from the Board.

As for my own relations to the work, I vibrate. Some aspects are very delightful and encouraging. In the daily round of occupations I am happy and contented; but I consider that our best work may be overthrown in an hour by a capricious legislature, — and that makes me question constantly whether I ought to remain here. The good will of the Regents and of the University friends is still so cordial and demonstrative that I have no reason "to stop" today or tomorrow. I should be sorry "to stop" in an abrupt or damaging way, — but I think the foundations are weak, and I don't like to build upon them. If any domestic or public consideration should call me east I should feel at liberty to go; but unless there is some such obvious reason for breaking away, I shall probably remain here through another winter. As I feel now, and have felt ever since the last legislature met, I could not be induced to go through such a

tussle. I have a sort of settled conviction that the only way to live is from day to day,—and that now my duty is to serve as well as I can these interests; yet I have an impression also that I ought not to be indifferent to opportunities elsewhere and I should listen favorably to any call to work at the East.

To President White, June 21:

I would give *all my pile* just now for a talk with you; the provocation being a single line from my brother that you have been talking with him. I wrote twice, at least, during the winter, when both you and I were a good deal absorbed and I don't know exactly how I stated my story nor have I heard from you in reply; but my mind was then turned strongly to the old idea of "the press" as better than "the office," to help on public affairs. We came out all right last winter, but the perils of a college subject to direct legislative control are so great, so complex, so inevitable, that I am in no mood to go forward here. The *Corporation* would be a bulwark; but *Regents* regarded as responsible direct to the legislature, like railroad or bank commissioners, are too unstable to rely on. We are now serene and prosperous. Everything is lovely. Good feelings are every where ascendant. I can't give up however the recollection of our last winter's dangers; and whenever the right moment comes,—I shall feel that I am justified in withdrawing. What next? Here are capital openings for usefulness and for activity, but I turn homeward.

During the winter and spring President Gilman had been busy with his usual tasks. Three important addresses were given by him. On December 23, 1873, he delivered an address at the Agassiz Memorial Meeting held by the Academy of Sciences in San Francisco, on the "Influence exerted by Agassiz on American Education." On January 3, 1874, he gave a lecture before the Mechanics' Institute in San Francisco on "Modes of Promoting Scientific and In-

dustrial Education in Large Towns"; and on January 12, under the same auspices, he gave a lecture on "Six Universities." He also sent to the Association for the Advancement of Science a paper entitled "California: a Study in Social Science," which was read at the annual meeting held in May in New York City.

President Gilman had felt great concern about securing accommodations for the students in Berkeley. He had urged ecclesiastical bodies as well as individuals to supply houses for them. These requests had not been successful. It therefore fell upon the Regents to make some provision. For this purpose eight cottages, each accommodating ten or twelve persons, were built and rented to the students at a moderate rate. Most of the students were in moderate circumstances, and many had to earn their own livelihood. In order to supply aid to deserving students, he secured the organization of a number of liberal gentlemen in a students' loan association. Much work had to be done to get affairs together after the demoralizing experience of the winter. Preparation for the annual report and arrangements for the coming year had to be made. The President was busy in his class-room repairing sadly interrupted work there.

Larger schemes were also occupying his mind. The idea of concentrating influences so as to bring about the greatest results was always with him. We have a manuscript record of this project in the following skeleton form:

I.

Form a company of gentlemen to be incorporated under some appropriate name, such as

Trustees of Learning;

SAN FRANCISCO UNION, for the advancement of Science, Literature and Art.

II.

Object. — To hold funds and devise methods for co-operating with the University, the Lick Observatory, the Academy of Sciences, the Lick Polytechnic School, the Art Association, etc., so that these and other kindred foundations may pull together, and not pull apart.

III.

The Trustees not to exceed 15 in number and to be chiefly chosen from business men of acknowledged character and position.

IV.

An Advisory Board or Council to be organized from literary and scientific men, to whom shall be referred questions of literary and scientific bearing.

This Council to include:

ex-officio { President of Acad. of Sciences
Director of Lick Observatory
President of University
and not more than six other associates.

V.

Funds to be solicited:

1. A Library Fund.
2. A Popular Lecture Fund.
3. A fund for Prizes and Scholarships, to help bright and needy young men in their studies.
4. A fund for a Mining School.
5. A fund for a School of Architecture and Building.
6. A fund for a School of Design.
7. A general untrammelled fund.

We have also a manuscript draft of a scheme for Lick's Polytechnic School. Correspondence and conversations, too, there were about the Lick Observatory. In the course

of a letter, of a little later date, written from New York on October 20, 1874, Mr. D. O. Mills says that President Eliot, and all persons at the Harvard Observatory, are interested in "our great project," and at Washington "Prof. Newcomb and Prof. Holden took great pains in giving all information I could ask for. I at this time begin to feel quite posted up, but I shall take pleasure in acting on your suggestions as far as convenience will permit." He adds: "It is a pleasure to hear how well you are doing with our University, and I trust hereafter all may work more in harmony." Mr. Mills had been appointed Regent in March, 1874, and served until 1881. After the government of the institution had been made permanent by the Constitution of 1879, he gave proof of his interest by endowing a chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy.

In the summer of 1874 it was decided to settle the question of the professorship of Agriculture. Accordingly, on July 23, the Regents passed a resolution requesting the resignation of Professor Carr. He refused to comply, invoking pledges given during the session of the Legislature, and asserting that he could not resign "without an apparent abandonment of the cause of industrial education." On August 11 the Regents formally voted to dispense with his services "in view of his incompetency and unfitness for the duties of the chair." President Gilman had by this time gone East on his vacation. There was a remonstrance made to this removal by a joint committee of the State Grange and of the Mechanics' State Council and Mechanics' Deliberative Assembly, to which the Regents made a printed answer. Professor Carr published a pamphlet of 112 pages on "The University of California and its Relation to Industrial Education." With the subsequent appointment of Dr. Eugene W. Hilgard as Professor of Agriculture the controversy was practically at an end; far more so, indeed,

than could then be seen. For the Grangers still agitated the subject, and Professor Carr's wife was a remarkably able woman, of great energy and extraordinary influence, who was of no mind to retire from the public eye. It was not surprising, therefore, that in 1875 Professor Carr was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction, becoming, through that office, a Regent of the University. Perhaps he did not wish to provoke further trouble; perhaps he himself was never very pugnacious and had not of his own volition stirred up the unfortunate contention; certainly he had a likable disposition, on account of which President Gilman was more charitable to him than probably any one in California knew; he had now, at any rate, no more grievances, having been raised by the people to a place among the rulers of the institution; the farmers were beginning to find that President Gilman's arrangements for agricultural education bore better results than Professor Carr's; and the Grangers were declining as a political body. No important interference with the development of the University was henceforth traceable to Professor Carr.

The new academic year opened in September. At an early Friday afternoon assembly President Gilman, in place of a formal lecture, made a short address upon the object of a university education. He dwelt upon the importance of having a "clear and vivid notion of what we are aiming at," ever a striking characteristic of his policy and conduct. He said: "At the beginning of a new year of college instruction it is desirable that we should all, both teachers and scholars, have a clear notion of what we are aiming to accomplish. We shall encounter obstacles, surely, before we have gone far; we shall sometimes feel as if our best work was of no account; we shall tend toward discouragement. But if we have a clear and vivid notion of what we are aiming at, and a right appreciation of the methods of

progress, the clouds of discouragement will soon vanish in the face of broad daylight; or if they still hang over the sky, the patches of bright blue light will frequently be revealed."

The University community took the President's address as meaning that he had adjusted himself to the situation, and, with a clear notion of what he wished to accomplish, had set his face steadily to the attainment of his object. Certainly things resumed their wonted aspect, — every one worked with buoyancy and hope, and no one during the next six months detected any diminution of interest and zeal in the University on the part of the President.

The most important work of the last year of his administration was the strengthening of the Faculty. Professor Sill was appointed to the chair of English. Dr. E. W. Hilgard was appointed to the professorship of Agriculture and has lived to bring to full fruition the hopes of President Gilman. The College of Mechanics was fully organized, and Frederick G. Hesse was made the leading professor in it. "It is rare," said President Gilman, "to find a man qualified to fill the duties of a chair of industrial mechanics both by his scientific attainments and by practical knowledge acquired in the shop, but Mr. Hesse is such a man," and the subsequent development of that college fully justified his faith. Likewise the College of Mining was organized, and William Ashburner appointed Professor of Mining. He was a mining engineer, with accurate scientific and technical training in the East and in Europe, and with large practical experience in California. He laid solid foundations for this department of the University. A new instructor in German was named in the person of Albin Putzker, who long continued, first as instructor and then as Professor of the German Language and Literature, in the words of President Gilman, to "succeed in a remarkable degree in awakening

a love of the study of that language in all classes of students."

President Gilman pursued the policy of appointing a number of recent graduates as "assistant instructors," to be afterwards sifted out, those who proved worthy and wished to follow an academic life to be promoted. None of his appointees who desired to remain at the University failed of ultimate promotion. What the retiring President of the Carnegie Institution found worth stating as a principle — that we must "discover and develop such men as have unusual ability" — he had put in practice thirty years before as President of the University of California.

While the University was being thus reinforced, and President Gilman was making a thoroughly well-compacted and efficient institution, corresponding with the ideas that he had set forth in his inaugural address, events were working rapidly toward another future for him. The course of these events is disclosed in several letters written to President White.

There is an intimation of something coming in this letter, dated September 30, 1874:

You will be glad to know that I find the outcry almost exclusively confined to the Grangers and Dr. Carr's personal friends. We begin the term, inside, more pleasantly than ever. We had more than 100 applicants for admission; our Freshman class numbers 67; the whole number of students was never so large as now; Hilgard is here, and proves to be just what we thought him, — a first-rate man in his place, — coöperative and capital as a teacher. Dr. Carr has published nine columns of mixed calumny and falsehood and innuendo; the Regents have had their say, and there the matter now rests. A Santa Barbara paper was handed me Tuesday in which a letter is printed from your friend Mr. Storke. It is very friendly and will do good here; but the young man has *let out* what I have kept entirely secret,

— the point of our recent talks and correspondence. I am afraid that he has gone beyond the limits of discretion in what he reports of your conversation and wishes; but if the story remains here no harm will come of it; I hope not in any case. But if the paragraph does get copied in the East I hope you will know whence it originated. I have regarded your overtures as strictly confidential, — so much so that I have not felt free to consult those whose opinions I desired to seek. My references even in the family have been very guarded.

The following letter, dated October 18, after referring to the Carr episode and the existing pleasant situation at the University, comes again to the now vital subject:

I have received your two long letters written early in this month, one of them giving me an account of your visit from the Hopkins Trustees, and the other your views of the answer here given to the Grangers. I feel very much obliged to you for both these notes. The latter (on Dr. Carr) I have read to Gov. Haight, Bolander, Hilgard, Rising, and others who are very much pleased that you take this view. . . .

The Univ. never began a term more pleasantly than the present. . . . Our new teachers take hold first rate, and we are all cheerful and happy. . . .

I am of course deeply interested in what you say of the Hopkins Trustees. Their reception at New Haven amused me more than it surprises me. There is no doubt among our old friends a latent indifference if not an open distrust of what is doing at the upper end of College street. I feel grateful to you for the good word you said for me to these gentlemen, and confess that I should consider their proposition if it were made. When I saw you, I felt that to think of leaving here might be "desertion in the face of the enemy," — but our term opens so finely and everything is so encouraging that I do not feel fettered. We had a gift yesterday of \$5000 for a cabinet of minerals.

A letter to President White, dated November 4, announces the receipt of overtures from the Johns Hopkins Trustees, and expresses the solicitude he always felt for the University of California:

The Baltimore overtures have reached me an hour ago. I suppose my family are half way across the continent; but if I can stop them coming on I shall do so, and shall ask leave to go East and see for myself. I feel much gratified by the confidence which so many of my friends have shown in me by saying a good word, at the opportune moment; but I must be very careful that the interests here do not suffer. We are apparently over the crisis; that answer to the Grangers has silenced them; our large increase of scholars, and general quiet and serenity surprises us all; if I am to resign at all within two years, now is the moment. No legislature for thirteen months; and then the tidal wave of what sort of democracy? I have not mentioned your letter respecting the visit and talk of the Hopkins Trustees to anybody, by letter or orally; so I don't know how to proceed with their overture, — but I shall at once have a frank talk with some of our Regents. I think I shall resign, — resignation to take effect at a time to be mutually agreed upon. Then being free, I shall go East and look at the situation. It would seem to me unwise to accept such a post without having first a personal interview. I write on the spur of the moment.

On December 9 President Gilman wrote to Governor Booth: "It is my intention to inform the Regents at their next meeting that I have received letters from an institution of learning at the East looking to my acceptance of the Presidency of the same. The overtures are so attractive that I feel bound to consider them and in order that I may honorably do so, I shall present my resignation to the Board." Governor Booth in his reply said: "I can only add the expression of my regret that we are to lose you,

and that the best interests of the State are not identical with yours."

John W. Dwinelle had resigned from the Regency after the removal of Professor Carr. There were those who criticised him for making that promise at the session of the Legislature; there were those who criticised him for not making the Board of Regents live up to the promise; there were those who criticised him for paying any heed whatsoever to the promise. He acted as his conscience told him was right, and especially that his position might not complicate matters to President Gilman's disadvantage. To no one does the University owe a larger debt in organization, and first years of development. On February 12, 1875, he wrote the following letter to President Gilman:

If I have not said, before now, what I now say, it is because I thought that the time and the place had not come when it would be perfectly proper to say it. Of course you will accept the Baltimore appointment.

First: We have not furnished you the entertainment to which you were invited. We are on the eve of a contest where the Board of Regents is to be assailed by falsehood, malice and every kind of nastiness from the outside, aided by treachery from within. We did not invite you to this, and you have a right to retire from it, particularly when the mode of retirement comes in the form of accepted reward of well-doing — promotion.

Secondly: You have a great opportunity at Baltimore, that of organizing the first real American *university*. That you will do it successfully, and thus place yourself at once at the head of your profession in America, I have not the least doubt.

God bless you in this great mission!

The Regents made plans for a public dinner in honor of President Gilman before his departure from California;

but he declined this honor for reasons given in the following letter, addressed to the Advisory Committee, under date of April 7:

The invitation which you have communicated to me from the Board of Regents to meet them at a public dinner before my departure from California is an honor which I fully appreciate. I am grateful for this token of their confidence and regard, but feel constrained to ask them to excuse me from accepting.

There are still many duties connected with the University which I wish to discharge and there are distant parts of the State which I wish to visit, so that my days are already full of engagements.

If any public service could be rendered by bringing together at this time those who are interested in the advancement of the University, the Academy, the Polytechnic School, the Art School, the High School, and other higher educational institutions, I should be willing to delay my departure; but I think that the moment is not propitious for such a gathering.

Personally I could not have any better evidence of the good will of the Regents than the support which they have uniformly extended to me, and the unvarying devotion to the interests of the University which they have exhibited.

Will you be so good as to communicate this note to the Regents with my Farewell, and the assurance that wherever my home is cast, I shall maintain a grateful remembrance of the manifold kindnesses I have received from them, and from other citizens of California, and a lively interest in all the efforts which are made to advance the education of the State.

Upon their acceptance of President Gilman's resignation, the Regents appointed Professor John Le Conte to the position of Acting President. Two gatherings in the nature of a farewell were held, — one just before the week's recess, closing the winter term, on March 24, and the other on

April 2, when Professor Le Conte entered on the duties of his office. The first was got up entirely by the students and was a complete surprise to President Gilman. A reception, some recitations, reading of resolutions, together with some tender words of affection, made up the programme. The other occasion was announced in the press, and the assembly hall at Berkeley was filled with friends of the departing President from Oakland and San Francisco.

A number of pages of manuscript have been found among President Gilman's papers relating to the period of his residence in California. These pages are, for the most part, not numbered, and are not in all cases consecutive. They seem to have been prepared for an address before leaving Berkeley, perhaps for the meeting that was held on April 2. There are indeed some expressions found in the manuscript which correspond to what he said on that occasion, but on the whole the tenor of the remarks then made differed from the written pages. In the manuscript the words "in the company of these officers and students" is underscored. Perhaps, when he found so large an audience not belonging to his intimate University family, he shrank from speaking so freely and confined himself to impromptu generalities. These fragments are valuable as disclosing the writer's inner feelings; or rather, perhaps, as showing his desire that the "officers and students" should understand what his feelings were, for we have been let into his heart by his private letters. These manuscript pages are now given in what seems to be their proper sequence:

It is with great reluctance that I take the final steps which will sever my connection with the University of California. I came with much hesitation; I have staid with increasing satisfaction; I go with sincere regret. Whatever the future may bring forth, Berkeley will be remembered with delight.

It seems as if even friendships ripened quicker than elsewhere beneath these favoring skies.

Perhaps I ought to rest content with this simple utterance of good will; but the University has of late been the subject of so much comment that I am tempted to throw off the reserve which is natural to me and speak somewhat freely in the company of these officers and students who will know the truth of what I utter. You will bear me witness that I have not used official opportunities in the class room or assembly, in the Faculty or Board of Regents, for any personal ends; and that I have kept aloof from all the financial, political and ecclesiastical excitements which have prevailed in the community. My sole desire has been to see the University well established; to see all classes united in its support; to see the prosperous and the needy equally welcome to our literary republic in the good fellowship of learning; to see literature and history on the one hand, science and the arts upon the other, promoted with generous zest; and above all to see those influences made perpetual which will mould the youth of California into noble, virtuous, and cultivated men and women.

Such an institution has here been planted. It is administered by a Board of Regents whose persistent, unselfish, and unpaid devotion to the work entrusted to them this community has never begun to appreciate. They have been blamed for not incurring expenditures, when their treasury was exhausted; they have been censured because the University was not built in a day; but through evil report and through good report, they have been firm in their convictions of duty, united in action, successful in their undertaking; and the day will come when the State of California will render them thanks for their now thankless service.

I have also learned to appreciate and honor those who are devoted to the instruction and administration of the University. Trained as they have been in different sorts of institutions and in different countries, devoted to widely different branches of study, they constitute a body of teachers of whom the community is now more proud than ever and whose highest praise is to be found in the intellectual and moral characteristics of those who have graduated under

their authority. Some of the Faculty are already eminent as scientific investigators, and others who have been devoted to the work of the class room rather than to literary and scientific research are likewise eminent as teachers and are remarkably successful as the guides of youth. . . .

During the last few months the University has been so unfortunate as to be the object of some unfriendly attacks. You know quite as well as I the sources from which they came, — but neither you nor I need attribute them to any improper motives. The Regents have endeavored to ascertain whether the criticisms were deserved; and where either friend or foe has pointed out a weakness or an imperfection they have endeavored to remedy it. The lack of money, the need of time, the want of men, the defects of laws have delayed many changes and improvements. But in the face of all its embarrassments, the University has maintained its serenity and has gone forward with constantly increasing prosperity.

If the personal animosities are overlooked, it will be discovered that the chief complaint has been that the University has been unfriendly to agriculture, and this cry has been widely repeated through a secret political organization, — composed of those who for the most part have never visited the University, and who had been largely influenced by the representations of one of their order who was supposed to know.

Among the errors into which they have been led was the belief that the Congressional grant of 1862 had either been squandered or devoted to a classical college; that the University gave no technical instruction in subjects relating to agriculture; and that only one-twentieth of the University income was so expended as to be of use to agricultural students.

The Regents controverted these extravagant assertions with success and were sustained by the legislature; but popular errors are slowly corrected; and these false impressions continue to give bitterness to the controversy. It was an unfortunate coincidence that an accomplished member of the Faculty resigned his professorship to engage in other literary work, just when the controversy was at its height, and

that he lent his practised pen to the support of a cause which on other occasions he had never espoused. The perusal of his pamphlet, in connection with these remarks, is earnestly to be commended.

The attacks upon the University have been kept up, in a limited circle, from that time onward; newspaper articles have been clipped out, underscored, and widely distributed by some diligent hand, through the Eastern colleges.

One reply has been issued by the Regents, — an answer to a special communication formally presented to them.

On all this controversy I have neither complained, nor answered back, nor asked to be vindicated. Even now I call no names; impugn no motives; employ no epithets. If there have been grave errors, public vigilance will detect them, and will resort to stronger methods of attack than Parthian arrows, or amusing squibs. But up to the present time, the legislature, the executive officers of the State, the Regents, the Faculty, the parents, and the students have stood united in their defense of the University. I do not hesitate to say that the government was never more harmonious; the number of scholars was never so large; the Faculty was never so vigorous; the courses of study were never so varied; the funds were never so ample; the library and museums were never so large; the finances were never so well administered; and

The page ends without finishing the sentence, and there is no page following in consecutive order. There are two pages which fit in as a later continuation of the same thought, giving a somewhat explicit account of the growth of the University and the strong material foundation which it has secured. The following isolated paragraph might well conclude that portion of the address:

It seems strange to a few of my friends both here and at the East that under these circumstances I am willing to leave the University and the State from which so much is anticipated; and in some of my most serious moods, I shrink

from the final step which will part me from colleagues and pupils whom I love and from duties which with all their embarrassments have been full of pleasure.

Taking up another thought, the manuscript runs as follows:

The University of California is nominally administered by the Regents; it is virtually administered by the legislature. The Political Code, which went into operation on the first of January, 1873, placed the Regents in the position of a commission of the legislature liable to be "sponged out" in a single hour of partisan clamor; and the mode of procedure during the last session of the legislature, although it resulted in nothing which was openly harmful, showed clearly what might have happened if the legislature had been composed of a more hostile element. Moreover, the revelations of that session were such that five gentlemen, whose names I could give were it not for the confidence with which all such communications should be regarded, each of whom contemplated large gifts to the University, informed me that they could not bestow their gifts upon an institution which might be swept away in an hour.

As I firmly believe that the advancement of higher education in this country depends chiefly upon the munificence of wealthy men, I regard the present organization of the University, which is liable to change at any session of the legislature, as peculiarly uncertain. It would be easy to suggest a remedy for this state of things, and to show by the experience of Eastern institutions how public aid can be supplemented by individual gifts, with a just protection of popular rights, and the careful administration of private funds.

The final paragraphs remaining of this manuscript read as follows:

Under all these circumstances, personally assailed by two members of the Faculty, insecure in chartered rights of the

institution, remote from family ties and from those who have known me long and well, unable to procure a suitable residence at Berkeley without a risk which I am unable to assume, I have listened to a call which came to me unsolicited.

A wealthy citizen of Baltimore, who died a few months since, has left his fortune for the good of his fellow men. One large portion is devoted to a hospital; another to the maintenance of a University. Nearly seven millions of dollars are consecrated to these two objects.

The trustees whom he selected are responsible neither to ecclesiastical nor legislative supervision; but simply to their own convictions of duty and the enlightened judgment of their fellow men. They have not adopted any plan nor authorized, as I believe, any of the statements which have been made as to their probable course, — but they are disposed to make a careful study of the educational systems of the country, and to act in accordance with the wisest counsels which they can secure. Their means are ample; their authority complete; their purposes enlightened. Is not this opportunity without parallel in the history of our country?

The *Overland Monthly* in July, 1873, had an editorial article entitled "The Gain of a Man," from which we have made quotations. In April, 1875, it contained an editorial entitled "The Loss of a Man." This article voiced the sentiment of the community at the time, and the passing years have not diminished in any wise the judgment then passed. It is the conviction of those who know the history of the University that we must look back, for the safety with which it passed through years of danger as also for the growth which marked its course in the face of hostile forces as well as under favoring conditions, to the character of the foundations that were reared during President Gilman's administration. In illustration of the abiding sentiment of the community we give the following extracts:

Only one man, but we cannot imagine any other that the State could worse afford to be without at this momentous period of her educational development. Two years ago, D. C. Gilman came to California to take presidential charge of our young University. He did not found that University, but he did more to build it up than anyone else. The difficulties of his position were almost overwhelming. He met them with consummate tact, urbanity, and patience. He made men, in both public and private capacities unused to the giving mood, surprise everybody, and themselves most of all, by exhibitions of unexpected generosity. . . . Success was with him every way that he went, and before the touch of his achievements the advocates and adherents of ignorance and disorder were astonished and confounded. . . . The President of the University and his course have had at all times the practically unanimous approval and applause of the Regents of the University, its professors, its students, and of all the well-educated persons of the whole State.

To all these the shock comes suddenly of his farewell. From other and broader fields eyes have been fixed on our great and wise husbandman, as was indeed inevitable, and the word of invitation has come for him. . . . We are glad for the sake of the Johns Hopkins University, glad for the sake of American education, glad not least for the sake of D. C. Gilman; but we are sorry for the sake of the University of California, sorry for the sake of Californian education, sorry for ourselves, for we have lost a man — a man calm, reasonable, dignified, full of resource in every emergency — a man of surpassing talent for organization, of extraordinary insight and sympathy as to the strong and weak points of colleagues and students, who can do more with poor materials than most men can with good — a man with incessant industry and persistent acquirement in every direction of science and literature — a man who is at once a gentleman in the technical and general sense of that term, unswerving in integrity, punctilious in honor, faithful in friendship, chivalrous and self-contained under attack and criticism. He leaves behind, in our University itself and in all it today is, in the hearts of his students and friends,

in the pages of the *Overland*, in the heart of hearts of us his nearer neighbors and acquaintances, sweet memories of a quiet perfect gentleman and genial gifted scholar. . . . Though we have lost our man, we have not lost our friend.

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than could be obtained at existing colleges and universities, and thus distinctly raising the standards of American science and scholarship. The wisdom of Johns Hopkins in placing no restrictions on the discretion of his Trustees, and the intelligence and broadmindedness of the Trustees themselves, gave President Gilman a rare and enviable opportunity to carry out this high purpose; but it must not be forgotten that, in the practical execution of such a task, there arise a thousand difficulties, temptations, and insidious dangers, any one of which may portend serious damage, and all of which, taken together, may mean utter failure. To be firm against local prejudices or desires when in conflict with the great end in view; to be uninfluenced by personal claims and unafraid of temporary complainings; to disappoint the natural hopes of those who were anxious to see imposing buildings and big crowds of students, and to await the recognition which attends the genuine achievement of a vital but not superficially showy result — these are things that look easy in the retrospect, but that did not seem by any means matters of course before the event.

The nature and importance of the service rendered by Mr. Gilman to the cause of learning in America did not wait long to be recognized by all who were interested in and informed upon the subject of university education in our country. The most ardent of the workers at the new university in Baltimore could not possibly have looked for, or even desired, a more prompt and hearty appreciation of what was being accomplished there than was cheerfully accorded by our leading scholars and heads of universities, and indeed by the learned world in Europe, almost from the very beginning. But as to the spirit in which Mr. Gilman undertook the work, little or nothing has been said. It is only now, with the record of his life before us, that this can be made perfectly manifest. The preceding chapters of this

book must sufficiently show that, at every stage of his development, the desire to be useful — to turn to full account for the benefit of his fellow-men whatever talents and powers he was endowed with — was the motive that abided with him as steadily, and, so to say, automatically, as does with most men the motive of personal advancement. The correspondence that passed between Mr. Gilman and the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University discloses with great precision the state of his mind when the proposition to assume the presidency of a new and important institution of learning came before him for consideration:

BALTIMORE, 23d October, 1874.

PRESIDENT GILMAN,
University of California.

DEAR SIR:

I believe you are apprised of the existence and character of the Institution which I represent. It is the recipient of a fund of some three and a half millions of dollars — with no shackles of state or political influence, and with no restriction but the wisdom and sound judgment of the Board of Trustees. Not denominational — freed from all sectional bias, and entirely plastic in the hands of those to whom its founder has entrusted its organization and development.

Its site is on the limits of our City, on a beautiful and improved estate of over three hundred acres; accessible by the public conveyances, and tending each year more and more to City affiliation.

By the same mail I send you a pamphlet, which will give you all that at present exists in print in relation to it.

It will inform you of the names of the officers and Board upon whom the trust has devolved; and who, if not known to you personally, or through others, I may be allowed to say, represent the worth and intelligence of our City. I state this to preface the remark, that one who should accept the position of President and organizer might be assured of having to deal with a body of gentlemen who, while at all times asserting independent thought and action, would

not be disposed to throw obstacles or captious objections in the way of the presiding officer.

In casting around for a suitable person to whom to entrust the development of the Institution, your name has been most prominent, coming with the fullest endorsement from the heads of the leading universities, East and West; and I have been instructed by the Board to open correspondence with you, looking to your acceptance of the presidency.

I am aware that your answer implies considerations of a practical and business character, which you will allow me to treat of in a business way. We are not apprised of the amount of the salary of your present position. That is, of course, much above the rates of similar posts on this coast; and, should you entertain the offer, we should like to have your views of what you consider a proper compensation for the duties; taking into consideration the lower rates of living here, and all that would suggest itself to you in connexion with the subject.

If you should not have the means of information in your vicinity, among persons familiar with our City, we would gladly answer any inquiries you might suggest, before committing yourself in reply.

Should you be embarrassed by a sense of obligation to your present position, and a natural delicacy in breaking off relations without ample notice; I may say, acceptance would not imply your immediate presence here. We do not receive the fund from the Executors of the Estate before February next, so that, I suppose, your appearance in the spring or summer of next year would suffice.

Trusting that you may consider the proposition favorably, and asking a reply as soon as is convenient, I am

Yours, very respectfully,

REVERDY JOHNSON JR.,
Chairman.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, November 10, 1874.

REVERDY JOHNSON, Jr., Esq.

DEAR SIR:

Your communication in behalf of the authorities of the Johns Hopkins University reached me on the fourth instant

and has engaged my most serious consideration. The guidance of such a trust as you represent seems to me one of the most important educational responsibilities in our country, and I regret exceedingly that the distance between us is so great that I cannot propose a personal conference at an early day on a subject of so much moment. Will you therefore allow me to write informally and familiarly about it.

I am deeply sensible of the honor and usefulness of the post to which your letter refers and am grateful to you and your associates for the confidence which has led them to communicate with me. My personal inclinations would lead me to resign my position here at once irrespective of any call elsewhere, on the ground that however well we may build up the University of California, its foundations are unstable because dependent on legislative control and popular clamor. These conditions are different from what they were represented to be at the time of my coming here, the so-called Political Code having essentially altered the Original Act of the University.

On the other hand, my relations to the Board of Regents of the University of California and my daily occupations are so satisfactory that I naturally hesitate about changing them. Besides, I do not know how the Regents will feel and think in respect to my withdrawal, for I have only had the opportunity of consulting one member of the Board.

I must therefore ask a few days' time to consider these points.

But, as I look at the opening sentences of your letter and read that this munificent gift is free from any phase of political and ecclesiastical interference, and is to be administered according to the judgment of a wise and judicious body of Trustees; when I think of the immense fund at your control; and when I think of the relations of Baltimore to the other great cities of the East, and especially of the relations which this University should have to the recovering states of the South, I am almost ready to say that my services are at your disposal.

As at present informed, I should think that the Regents of this University would prefer to have me remain here

until our Commencement next June, but possibly not. They may prefer that the change, if there be a change, should not be delayed.

You ask my views in respect to salary. I should prefer to say nothing more than this, — that my decision will not turn upon any such point. You would wish to have me live in a becoming manner and to exercise toward the students and friends of the institution a quiet but generous hospitality. This I should endeavor to do in a spirit which you will approve, and for which I am sure you will in some way provide.

The sum of this long letter then is this: — that the overtures of your Committee are favorably entertained and that I shall immediately propose to the Regents to release me from their service. I shall then be free to accept the position to which you refer. But I hope that a formal and final decision will not be required of me, on your part, until we have met face to face.

I am, dear Sir,

Very Respectfully Yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

In some autobiographical notes referring to this period of his career, Mr. Gilman gives the following account of his first meeting with the Johns Hopkins University Trustees:

For the sake of a personal interview I made the overland journey to Baltimore at the end of December, 1874, and after meeting the Trustees was informed that I had been selected to lead the new undertaking.

I well remember that original meeting with the Hopkins Trustees. Several of them called upon me the evening after my arrival, at the Mount Vernon Hotel, and the next day I was escorted to their official room, 25 North Charles Street, in a building now destroyed by fire, then known as the Bible House. They were seated around the room (all of them except Mr. Gwinn, who was detained by illness, being present) and I think that I had never faced a body that seemed

to me so grave and so dignified as they. After personal introductions were over, I was asked to give my impressions with respect to the situation. I do not find any memorandum of my remarks, but the substance of what I said was communicated a few days later to my friend, Mr. Godkin, editor of the *Nation*, and, quite to my surprise, he printed the following summary, which I did not see until it was published.

"He [Mr. Gilman] said [to the Trustees] in substance, that he would make it the means of promoting scholarship of the first order, and this by only offering the kind of instruction to advanced students which other universities offer in their post-graduate courses, and leaving the kind of work now done by undergraduates to be done elsewhere. For this purpose he would select as professors men now standing in the front rank in their own fields; he would pay them well enough to leave them at their ease as regards the commoner and coarser cares; would give them only students who were far enough advanced to keep them constantly stimulated to the highest point; and he would exact from them yearly proof of the diligent and fruitful cultivation of their specialties by compelling them to print somewhere the results of their researches. Now, what this means, and how great a contribution it would be to the intellectual progress and fame of the United States, may be inferred when we say that we could at this moment name twenty men, employed at small salaries in existing colleges, whose work in certain fields of research would be of inestimable value to the science and literature of the world, but who are compelled, in order to earn their livelihood, to pass most of their time teaching the rudiments to boys, or preparing school-books; and that American graduates who would like to pursue certain lines of culture to their latest limits are compelled every year either to go abroad or content themselves with the necessarily imperfect aid which they can get in the post-graduate courses from overworked and half-paid professors who are doing the duty of schoolmasters. One of the results of the present state of things — and none see it more clearly than those who, like ourselves, are called on every week to compare the results of the intellectual activity of Europe with our own — is that our intellectual progress

bears no sort of proportion to our progress in the accumulation of wealth and in the mechanical arts. To the higher thought of the world we contribute shamefully little. The books that rouse and stimulate men in the various great fields of speculation to-day are almost invariably European, and it shows what a mental condition some of us have fallen into, that it has been seriously proposed, within a few years, to remedy this state of things by putting a heavy customs duty on the product of the European mind — a proposal worthy of the year 1000. We are glad to say that the Hopkins Trustees fell in cordially with Mr. Gilman's terms, and offered him the presidency of the new institution, and that he will probably accept it. It is a great opportunity, and we hope and believe it will be rightly used." [*The Nation*, Jan. 28, 1875.]

How far the views expressed by the *Nation* as to the proper function of the new university were from being universal may be judged from one or two extracts from an ably written editorial which appeared, shortly after the election of President Gilman, in one of the leading Baltimore papers. Two letters having been received by the editor in support of the university idea, he closes a discussion of the pros and cons of the subject as follows:

One of our correspondents complains that we have not such a school in America, and insists that this opportunity for founding one should not be neglected. Without knowing how many of our forty millions of people are thirsting for a higher education than can be obtained in any school in America, we think that we may safely say that if there had been great need for such a school it would have been established long ago. Our great scholars and thinkers find abundant opportunity for exercising their highest gifts. We do not think that there is a really great mind in any part of the country that is dwarfed in its growth for want of a school of a higher standard than Yale or Harvard. If the intellectual activity that has obtained in New England for fifty

years has not laid the foundations of a "school of philosophy," how can we expect to *create* such an institution in Baltimore, and fill it with students, in a single year?

Elsewhere in the article we find the following expression of opinion relating more especially to the needs of the section of the country of which Baltimore may be regarded as the center:

We do not think that in the present state of intellectual culture in this section of the Union such a school as is contemplated by our correspondents "O." and "P. G. S." is possible. After our University has been in operation fifty years it may develop into something like President Gilman's ideal, but for the present we must be satisfied with something more practical and better adapted to the attainments of our youth. When we raise the average intellectual culture of the young men of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina to a higher standard, we may expect to be able to furnish a reasonable number of students for the "school of philosophy." We have a few of them now, but they are exceptional, we might say phenomenal. The number is entirely too small to entitle them to become the exclusive beneficiaries of a college endowment of three and a half millions of dollars.

It is proper to add that a very short experience of the actual results attained through the devotion of the resources of the Johns Hopkins chiefly to the creation of a true university sufficed to make this paper a hearty and constant supporter of the University's work. It may be noted by the way, as interesting in itself and instructive in its bearing on the general question of how endowments should be made, that, even while strongly opposing the contemplated plan, the paper explicitly recognized the freedom of the Trustees to do whatever to them seemed wisest. It urged what it regarded as the unquestionable preference or expectation

BEGINNINGS OF JENS HUPNS 11

of the founder in his lifetime, but admitted that the entire absence of limitations in the Trustees' discretion in his will left them perfect liberty of choice.

Two personal letters, one written after his first talks with the Trustees, the other immediately after his acceptance of the presidency, may be quoted here:

BALTIMORE, Dec. 31, '74.

DEAR LOUISE:

This is Thursday, 2. 11. I arrived here Monday afternoon, and all my time has been absorbed with the great problem. I have fallen into the hands of most excellent persons — intelligent, sensible, cautious, judicious. Several came to see me the first evening; the next day was spent in a formal interview, and in seeing the property; yesterday in a drive about town and in a ceremonious dinner party. They unanimously invite me to come, and I think I shall accept; but I keep back the formal words until I can confer with the Californians. . . .

OAKLAND, January 30, 1875.

MY DEAR BRUSH:

I have just mailed a letter signifying my formal acceptance of the J. H. Univ. Pres., my delay having been occasioned not by hesitation, but by deference to others. I would give a great deal for a private talk with you, Whitney, and others "as of old." I incline more and more to the belief that what is wanted in Baltimore is not a scientific school, nor a classical college, nor both combined; but a faculty of medicine, and a faculty of philosophy; that the usual college machinery of classes, commencements, etc. may be dispensed with; that each head of a great department, with his associates in that department, — say of Mathematics, or of Language or of Chemistry or of History, etc., — shall be as far as possible free from the interference of other heads of departments, and shall determine what scholars he will receive and how he will teach them; that advanced special students be first provided for; that degrees be given when scholars are ready to be graduated, in one

year or in ten after their admission. This, as you know, has some points akin to the plans of the University of Virginia, an institution already favorably considered in Baltimore. All this, however, is open for discussion.

I shall be very desirous at an early day to enlist two or three of the future staff, with whom I can confer in the intimacy of long-trying friendship. You will not think it strange that I turn to Whitney and you. I do not know whether I shall be allowed to make any overtures to you, until the Board acts as a body, and I don't know but you will scorn the Baltimore proposals as you did those of Cambridge; but I think I shall be allowed some counsellors of my own choice, — and that if so I can open to you and to Whitney most inviting fields of work.

The minimum income will be \$200,000 per year. Reserving of that \$45,000, — for library, apparatus and administration, — we shall have \$155,000 for instruction. This would pay four professors, say \$6,000 each (= \$24,000); twenty, at salaries ranging from \$4,000 to \$5,000, average \$4,500 (= \$90,000); twenty "adjuncts," on time appointments, three, four or five years, average \$2,000 (= \$40,000); total \$154,000. We could doubtless much increase numbers by paying less prices; but I think we should pay good salaries as such things go. I hope we shall be able to pay medical professors in part from the hospital; and I believe that our income will be increased by tuition, gifts, and increment on funds.

I say all this so as to set you to thinking. I don't suppose there will be any instruction before the autumn of 1876; and I hope not even then. There are others of the "Governing Board" whom I shall want to capture; but I shall not let on "at present," — for you would not like to have me. But bestir yourselves for more funds for the S. S. S.

Let me hear from you familiarly.

Yours ever,
D. C. G.

In the autobiographical notes already referred to, Mr. Gilman gives the following account of what had been done

by the Trustees prior to his interview with them, in regard to the general plans of the University:

In the summer of 1874 they invited three gentlemen of acknowledged preëminence to visit Baltimore and answer face to face such inquiries as the Trustees might propose. These gentlemen were President Eliot of Harvard, then at the beginning of his great career, President White of Cornell, who had recently gone through with the perplexing problems of a new foundation, and President Angell of the University of Michigan, the most flourishing at that time of all the State universities. Shorthand notes were taken of these three interviews and the record is preserved in the archives of the University. In looking them over it is obvious that all parties at that time expected to see the Johns Hopkins University established at Clifton, the country seat of the founder, a beautiful estate lying on the northeast of Baltimore, perhaps two miles from the Washington Monument. Consequently, almost all the questions and answers in these interviews related to the foundation of a suburban college where the problems of government and of buildings were of immediate importance. The distinction between university work and collegiate work was not clearly recognized, although one of the Trustees put this pointed question:—"whether the proposed John Hopkins University should be created as an institution which should attempt to give a higher degree of education than has heretofore been done, or whether we should create an institution which should give education to a larger number than we would by the other plan, it being an important question for the Trustees to determine." A brief and not conclusive answer was given to this enquiry, and the subject was dropped.

The inquiries submitted to President Eliot by Mr. Johnson, acting for the Trustees, were these:

1. As to the relative merits and advantages of the Old System and the more advanced systems of Education.
- 2 The elective system — how far expedient with a new Institution, such as ours.
3. To what extent should we advance our course, look-

ing to the defective character of our preparatory schools; and if desirable to use a special preparatory school.

4. As to the relative advantages of the commons and dormitory system and that of the students living separate.

All parties, the Trustees on the one hand and their confidential advisers on the other, had clearly in mind the establishment of courses of instruction for undergraduate students and also the subsequent preparation of those who wished to become trained as doctors of medicine.

But there was another question, no less important than that of the end to be aimed at, upon which the Trustees sought the advice of Presidents Eliot, White and Angell. However admirable the design, there could be little hope of its successful execution unless the man chosen as head of the new university possessed qualifications to match the difficulties of the enterprise. In going to the three university presidents above named, the Trustees were evidently seeking out three men who had not only shown preëminent success in the handling of their own problems, but were the three men most fully representing the idea of progress in American education. Each of them had been for only a few years at the head of a great university, and each of them was at that time of life when the full vigor of youth is combined with the sagacity and the experience that belong to mature manhood. The story has often been told of the absolute identity of the responses made by these three men to the inquiries of the Trustees upon the subject of the choice of a president for the new university. In his address on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Johns Hopkins University President Angell tells it in these words: "After they came home, they did me the honor to write me a letter, and, as I was afterwards informed, they wrote a similar letter to President Eliot and to President White, asking whom we would suggest for the office of President.

And now I have this remarkable statement to make to you; that, without the least conference between us three, we all wrote letters, telling them that the one man was Daniel C. Gilman, of California. That is one of the few acts of my life which I have never regretted." This unanimity of choice testifies to something more than the eminent fitness of Mr. Gilman for the important post upon which he was about to enter. Of that, of course, no evidence is necessary or can add to that which is furnished by the history of the Johns Hopkins. What it does impress upon the mind, however, is the extreme rareness of the qualifications which it was necessary to secure if something truly great and valuable to the tountry was to be achieved at Baltimore. Had not "the one man" been found and chosen, the history of the Johns Hopkins University and of the higher education in America would unquestionably have been very different from what it has been. But, with these three able and authoritative counsellors choosing with one voice the same man, it is easy to imagine the feeling of the Trustees that the possibility of securing him was the greatest piece of good fortune that could have happened for the enterprise in whose success they were so deeply interested.

That the purpose of making the Johns Hopkins University a "means of promoting scholarship of the first order" was put forward by Mr. Gilman at his very first interview with the Trustees and was cordially accepted by them is sufficiently evident from what precedes. But the means by which this purpose was to be accomplished still remained, even in its large lines, to be determined. When the University was actually opened the intention of confining the instruction to graduate work, "leaving the kind of work now done by undergraduates to be done elsewhere" — as indicated in the foregoing quotation from the *Nation* — was not strictly carried out; and as regards the graduate work,

which did from the start form the predominant interest of the institution, no definite model for its organization was in Mr. Gilman's mind. In the event, it may be said with sufficient accuracy that the graduate work was carried on in its main lines upon the model of the German universities; but there was no strict adherence to this model, and among other things, it was not unconsiderably modified by the necessity of uniting graduate with undergraduate instruction. It does not appear, however, that President Gilman had at the outset fixed upon the German methods as central in the scheme to be adopted. But the keynote of the German system was also the keynote of Mr. Gilman's conception of the university that was to be; for he had in view the appointment of professors who had shown their ability as investigators, whose duties as teachers would not be so burdensome as to interfere with the prosecution of their researches, whose students should be so advanced as to stimulate them to their best work, and the fruit of whose labors in the advancement of science and learning should be continually manifest in the shape of published results. With this general purpose in view, Mr. Gilman's first tasks were to lay hold of a set of picked men who should give just the impulse that was wanted for the making of this new departure in the higher education in our country, and at the same time to add to his own knowledge of the methods and the ideals prevailing in European centers of learning. For the accomplishment of the first of these tasks he did not rely upon any routine method for selecting and attracting to Baltimore men marked out simply by the eminence of the posts they already held, but kept his eyes open to all the varieties of chance opportunity that might present themselves. In the pursuit of the second purpose he adopted the simple and time-honored plan of a trip to Europe.

The first acquisition made for the future Faculty of the

Johns Hopkins — and one of the most important — was not made by way of appointment at all; it was as a potential professor rather than an actual one that Mr. Gilman got hold of Henry A. Rowland. The story of the discovery of Rowland is told among the recollections of the early years of the Johns Hopkins contained in "The Launching of a University":

While on service as a member of the Board of Visitors at West Point in the summer of 1875, I became well acquainted with General Michie, then professor of physics in the United States Military Academy. I asked him who there was that could be considered for our chair of physics. He told me that there was a young man in Troy, of whom probably I had not heard, whom he had met at the house of Professor Forsyth and who seemed to him full of promise.

"What has he done?" I said.

"He has lately published an article in the *Philosophical Magazine*," was his reply, "which shows great ability. If you want a young man you had better talk with him."

"Why did he publish it in London," said I, "and not in the *American Journal*?"

"Because it was turned down by the American editors," he said, "and the writer at once forwarded it to Professor Clerk Maxwell, who sent it to the English periodical."

This at once arrested my attention and we telegraphed to Mr. Rowland to come from Troy, where he was an assistant instructor in the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He came at once and we walked up and down Kosciusko's Garden, talking over his plans and ours. He told me in detail of his correspondence with Maxwell, and I think he showed me the letters received from him. At any rate, it was obvious that I was in confidential relations with a young man of rare intellectual powers and of uncommon aptitude for experimental science. When I reported the facts to the trustees in Baltimore they said at once, "Engage that young man and take him with you to Europe, where he may follow

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... state-room with me, and
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... mathematical student and in-
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... best telescopes in the world
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... es which Mr. Rowland has
... place among scientific men.
... and treated him with great
... on Tuesday eve'g. He
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... and his first activity in con-
... University:

... after a visit to his friend
... dge, whom he found in

Scotland a presbyterian elder, — in England a university professor. They were together several days. Mr. Rowland is now finishing a paper for the *Philosophical Magazine* of London, which he will date from the Johns Hopkins University.

An undated memorandum in a little note book of 1875, written doubtless immediately after first hearing of Rowland at West Point, is not without interest:

Rowland of Troy \pm 25 yrs. \$1600 now paid work not apprec'd w'd like chance to work. sent papers to N. H. [New Haven] thrice rejected "too young to publish such" —

In the letter last quoted from, Mr. Gilman mentions his meeting with two men, both of whom had some influence on future developments at the Johns Hopkins — Dr. Hooker through being the man who suggested the appointment of Sylvester, and Professor Bryce by forming one of the group of eminent men whose special courses of lectures were so striking and stimulating a feature of the early years of the University:

One day I spent at the Botanical gardens at Kew, taking lunch with the Director, Dr. J. D. Hooker, to whom I brought a letter of introduction. He called my particular attention to the new building put up for the exhibition of vegetable products. It is a plain three-story edifice, quite devoid of all show, and yet admirably adapted to its purpose. It reminded me of the Sheffield building at New Haven in this respect, — that it seemed to have been constructed in accordance with the wishes of the director and not for the gratification of an architect. The collections here brought together are not so costly as they are comprehensive and well arranged. They exhibit not only the natural objects but the purposes to which these vegetable substances are applied. If we find a competent young man, we might begin such a

the building at Clifton. The
And this is very great and the exemption

It seems to me extraordinary.
I was conversed with Professor Bryce of Ox-
ford, a Professor in Chancery who holds a non-
the International Law in the Univer-
sity. He will give an annual course of twenty
lectures in our country and would like to es-
tablish his book on the History of the
Roman Empire) is used in many of

He has seemed as a work of fine scholar-
ship. He has taken a great deal of
thought. He has taken a great deal of
the institutions of the United States
and is much impressed by what I told him
in the University. He says I will find no
one at Cambridge, and he
will come in November, for the universities do
not close in the middle and close of October. My
departure is on October 16, and I shall not change it
to do so. — except of course for some
unforeseen.

to have made no record, even in the
experiences during this important sum-
mer are a few letters to the Johns Hop-
kins which the above brief extracts are taken
from; these will be reproduced below; these, how-
ever, in the nature of a report or record, but
merely to communicate to his corre-
spondents that would interest them for one
side from the letters, all that can be
gathered from the fragmentary notes in a little memoran-
dum will indicate pretty fully the way in which he
spent his days in Dublin, the first city that he
visited in his comprehensive talks with Professor Ma-
cCullagh at Johns Hopkins and on many other
points. Mr. Barrett took him over the Royal Col-

lege of Science and the other scientific and learned establishments of Dublin, into whose arrangements and activities he looked with considerable minuteness. His intentness on his main purpose did not prevent his visiting also the Queen's Institute, an institution for helping women to work; and the notes show that he had in mind the possibility at some time of utilizing for the good of working women in our own country the observations which he made there. But unfortunately what he saw and did between leaving Dublin about July 20 and leaving Paris August 18 is a blank, except for two or three letters from London from which quotations have been made above. In his autobiographical notes Mr. Gilman says: "There is much that might be recalled with pleasure in respect to my European journey in the summer and early autumn of 1875, but there is not much that it is important to record. I visited many of the universities of Great Britain and the continent, and was favored by the counsel and sympathy of many men distinguished in the fields of literature and science. The list would be long if I should make a note of all the names that might be included, and it would be unfair if I should exclude the names of any of those to whom I was indebted." Accordingly the names of the eminent men with whom he talked which may happen to be mentioned in this account must not be regarded as exhaustive, or even as necessarily being the most important. At Geneva he met Professor W. D. Whitney and his young disciple, C. R. Lanman, who became one of the first band of fellows at Johns Hopkins and who has now long been Professor of Sanskrit at Harvard University; and he had a long and important talk with Whitney, the memorandum of which notes among other things that "W. D. W. will consider favorably a proposition to go to Baltimore yearly." Another interview which bore fruit for the future university was that with Professor von Holst at Freiburg

in Baden a week later, of which mention is made in a letter reproduced below.

The original Board of Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University was a body of men of unusually high quality. Their characteristics have been set forth by Mr. Gilman in a chapter of "The Launching of a University," and in the autobiographical notes he speaks of them as having "set an example of devotion to the public good and of intelligent administration in times of adversity as well as in times of prosperity." All of them had genuine interest and pride in the success of the great educational enterprise with which they were entrusted, and several of them were deeply interested in its specific intellectual aims and evidently wished to keep in touch with the progress of Mr. Gilman's inquiries. His letters to them from the Continent were as follows:

GENEVA, August 23, 1875.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have just arrived here by way of Strassburg, — after having passed ten days in Paris, so busily occupied that I found but little time for letter writing. During the first few days of my visit, "The International Geographic Congress" was in session, an assembly of distinguished geographers from the various countries of Europe. In connection with their meeting, an exhibition was made of maps, charts, instruments, books, models, reliefs, antiquities, and in short of all the objects which were supposed to throw light upon the structure of the globe, the development of national resources, and the methods by which geographical science is promoted. I spent most of my time for three days in the examination of this collection, which was vast and comprehensive, and well arranged in one of the remaining wings of the Palace of the Tuileries. It has often seemed to me desirable that one of the specialties of the Johns Hopkins University should be the training up of young men to be the surveyors and engineers by whose skill our interior country will be mapped — in its topographical, geological, agricul-

tural and economical aspects; — and having this in mind I was fortunate in being able to see how the various governments of Europe are prosecuting their work. In one place, displayed with an amplitude which was exceedingly convenient, were the great topographical maps of England, France, Switzerland, Austria, Prussia, Russia, the Scandinavian peninsulas — and the remote countries tributary to or explored by these powers. Our own country appeared to great disadvantage. A few good things “floated in,” and were obscurely exhibited in some remote corner; but they attracted the attention of the knowing ones, and when the prizes were announced in the presence of Marshal MacMahon and the rest, it was a satisfaction to hear the honors awarded to the Coast Survey, Dr. Hayden, the Census, Gen. Walker (for his statistical atlas) and to some other American works.

After the Congress was over, my time was largely devoted to visiting the college buildings, laboratories, etc. of Paris, — but here as in England most of the Professors were absent in vacation. An old friend of mine, Professor Reynolds, of the University of France and College of St. Louis, helped me very much in my inquiries and gave me such an insight into the Lyceum or College system, with its extraordinary severe discipline, as I had never before attained to.

I did what I could to collect the recent reports and discussions on Instruction in France, and by the aid of a very intelligent bookseller made a valuable collection of volumes and pamphlets. Among the Institutions which I visited were the Sorbonne, the College of France, and the École Centrale, the Lycée St. Louis, the National Library, the Collège Chaptal (quite a new building), etc. I made some inquiries also in respect to the future purchases which we shall of course make of models, books, maps, instruments, diagrams, etc., but I did not make purchases to any extent worth mentioning.

A noteworthy discussion has been in progress in France, respecting what is called the liberty of public instruction in the University. Hitherto it has been illegal for the Catholic church to maintain University instruction in France. The new law makes it possible and the Catholics are endeavoring to raise the funds to make a beginning. This law has been

regarded as a Catholic gain, and so doubtless it is; but the best people with whom I conversed seemed to regard it rather as a gain for liberty, the chief advantage of which might first accrue to the Catholics, but the real advantages of which would adhere to the whole country.

Among the new museums opened in France, that at St. Germain interested me exceedingly. Here are brought together a multitude of objects which Napoleon III collected to illustrate his life of Cæsar. They are admirably arranged as a Franco-Gallic historical museum, and in the same building are exhibited hosts of objects illustrative of the antiquity of man and including some curious models of the caves in which the ancient implements and bones have been found.

I left Paris last Wednesday direct for Strassburg, and there under the guidance of one of the professors to whom I was introduced saw to advantage the new library which has been brought together in the few years which have passed since the late war (1870-1) and which numbers the incredible amount of over 350,000 volumes! About 150,000 volumes were given. I went also to the laboratories and lecture rooms, which are excessively plain, but which abound in the convenient apparatus for good scientific work. I then made a *détour* to *St. Dié*, where the New World was first named America, an inaccessible place in the Vosges, and then came here via Colmar, Basel and Berne. The new Academy buildings here are noteworthy — and the views from the Hotel *Beau Rivage* are superb! I go hence to Zurich.

Ever truly yours,
D. C. GILMAN.

FREIBURG, BADEN, Aug. 30, 1875.

MY DEAR SIR:

From Geneva, I went by the way of Lucerne to Zurich, in order to see the famous Polytechnic School there established, which has been so frequently commended by Scott Russell and other writers on technical education. Here as ~~where~~ it was vacation and the Professors were absent,

but I made two leisure visits to the building, and examined its arrangements, and secured the programmes and other documents which illustrate the work here done. One feature of considerable interest is the partial union of the Polytechnic School with the University, reminding one of the union of the Sheffield Scientific School at New Haven with Yale College.

From Zurich I came by Basel to this place. The University here is one of the oldest in Germany and one of the smallest, but it has some excellent professors, and a very interesting history. The attraction to me was the Professor of History, Von Holst, with whom I was already acquainted, and who was spending his vacation here at work upon the continuation of a History of the United States. He has given me most of his time for two days, and through his valuable suggestions I have obtained an insight into some of the tendencies of German university discussion. He assures me that the best thinkers, both scientific men and literary men, think that too great freedom has been allowed to students to choose their own work, so that special education, in distinction from general culture, has been disproportionately encouraged. He also says that the new French law on liberty of University organization is regarded here as a great injury to France, and to the cause of human progress.

The weather has been so warm that I incline to give up visiting Munich and Vienna, and go hence to Leipsic and Berlin, — stopping at Frankfort and perhaps at Heidelberg.

Ever faithfully yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

VIENNA, September 13, 1875.

MY DEAR SIRs:

My last letter was dated from Freiburg in Baden. I went from there to Heidelberg and Frankfort, and then to Berlin, where I spent more than a week. I felt at home in Berlin, having passed some months there as a student, and I found it quite easy to make acquaintances through my brother-in-law, Dr. Thompson, who has resided there for four years and is well known to the University professors.

Berlin has grown of late in all respects, and especially in its scientific and educational establishments. The great chemical laboratory of Dr. Hofmann, the new Medical School or "Anatomie," the great physical laboratory and physiological laboratory of Prof. Helmholtz and Du Bois Reymond, the projected Natural History Museum, the new Gymnasium and Real Schools were all of great interest to me. Of some of them I have obtained the plans, — for future reference. I was also fortunate in seeing and conversing with several of the famous scientific men, though many of them are still absent on vacation. I found them already aware of the Johns Hopkins foundation and very eager to know how its plans are to be developed. Among those whom I met were Dr. Gneist, Prof. of Law, who expects to visit our country next year, Dr. Weber, the comparative philologist, Baron v. Richthofen the geologist, Dr. Neumayer, the government hydrographer, Dr. Abel the correspondent of the London Times, Professors Ranke and Zumpt of the Fred. Wm. Gymnasium, and Director Bonitz who has just been called to an important post in the Ministry for Education. With them all I discussed educational problems as they now present themselves in Germany. It is interesting to observe how alive the best men are to the importance not only of maintaining but of improving their High Schools and Universities, and how clear are their convictions that a thorough general education is essential as the foundation for special acquisitions. No part of my visit has been more profitable than this German experience, and if I cannot reproduce the conversations, I can carry with me to America a number of important pamphlets and magazine articles in which these and other writers have expressed their views.

From Berlin I went to Leipsic, which is now considered to be the leading University of Germany, and here I was greatly impressed by the immense buildings, well arranged and well furnished, which have been constructed within a few years for laboratory work. In one group, on the outskirts of the city are the chemical laboratory, the pathological laboratory, the physiological laboratory, the physical and geological laboratory, the medical school or "Anatomie," and the new St. Jacob Hospital.

I went from Leipsic to Dresden, and there visited the new Polytechnic School building, the latest and probably the best of the buildings of this class in Germany. I was so fortunate here as to find the Director, Dr. Zeuner, at home and to have the company of one of his colleagues, Dr. Ritterhaus, in my visit to the new establishment. In all these visits I have secured the latest publications, and as far as possible views and ground plans of the buildings.

The weather has become so fine and cool that I have recast my plans and decided to visit Vienna and Munich, from which I was diverted a few days ago by the heat. I am very glad to see Vienna. It has the aspect of more life than Berlin. Progress is obvious in every direction, tho' for the present business is depressed. The great canal which brings the Danube to the city's door has been completed within a year, and is now spanned by five superior bridges.

I have not yet seen much of the Institutions except the Polytechnicum, but I have been very pleasantly received by Dr. von Hochstetter, the geologist, prorector of the Polytechnicum, and President of the Geographical Society, and by Dr. Hahn, head of the Magnetic Meteorological Observatory, and through them I shall soon extend my visits. They urge me to go to Gratz, where there is to be, a few days hence, a convention of scientific men and physicians of Germany. Perhaps I may do so. I hope that all this observation will be rich in good fruits at Baltimore.

Ever truly yours,

G. CHESTON, Esq., &c. &c.

D. C. GILMAN.

MUNICH, September 14, 1875.

MY DEAR SIRs:

Vienna has impressed me more than any city I have visited by the magnificence of its projects for the encouragement of education and science. When the plans are carried out which have been undertaken, it will surpass most if not all the cities of Europe in its material appliances for the promotion of learning. These plans, at the moment, are embarrassed in consequence of the financial panic which has of

late interfered with all business, but it will not probably be long before the city and the empire recover their prosperity. Quite a new city is growing up in what were until lately the suburbs. The magnificent Votif church, the interior of which is still unfinished, is the most conspicuous of the new buildings. Quite near to it is the new University building, the only new structure for the general purposes of a University which I have seen in Europe. It is yet but little more than a foundation, though the work is going forward day by day. Just beyond it is the new parliament house, and beyond that two spacious structures, one designed for the scientific collections in natural history and the other for the gallery of the fine arts. These are all incomplete. The chemical laboratory is a new and important structure on the other side of the Votif church, and not far beyond, on a lot adjoining the great hospital, is a physiological laboratory. A building is projected for a physical laboratory, which is temporarily established in a private dwelling house, occupying as much space very nearly as the two dwelling houses recently purchased in Baltimore for the University purposes. While the new structures are in progress, the lectures are given chiefly in the dingy rooms of the old University building in the heart of the city, and are attended by more than 2000 hearers. The Polytechnic School remains in its old place, and so does the Agricultural School, to which has just been added the Forest School. The city-hospital (of vast extent) is the center of medical education for the University, but I do not think there is much to learn from its construction. A Jewish hospital, erected by Baron von Rothschild, recently, is considered so good in respect to light, heat, and ventilation, that I took some pains to get the plans of it for Mr. King. The meteorological institute, under Dr. Hann, is remarkably well equipped with the newest and best instruments for the recording of magnetic and meteorological phenomena. Some of the city schools are quite noteworthy, and special attention has been given to the health of the scholars, by improved seats, ventilation, etc. — and the Froebel kindergartens have been truly introduced. It seemed to me I could spend a month advantageously here. The few days which I could command were made profitable

by the help of Professors von Hochstetter, Hann, and Stricher. My stay here will be brief.

Yours very truly,
D. C. GILMAN.

Returning to England about the middle of September, Mr. Gilman had a month before him prior to sailing for America. Of his occupations and observations during this month little record remains among his papers — nothing in connected form except a letter from Rugby to Mr. Galloway Cheston, President of the Board of Trustees:

RUGBY, October 3, 1875.

MY DEAR SIR:

To speak like an Irishman, I have made a flying visit to Scotland, in order to get the most out of the few days remaining to me in England, — and have visited Manchester, Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Glasgow. I was fortunate in all these places to find some at least of the college people to whom I was introduced.

Manchester is of special interest to Baltimore, for it is the seat of Owens College, which was founded by a wealthy man whose name it bears, about a quarter of a century ago, and from a very modest beginning it has attained great prominence among the scientific and literary institutions of Great Britain. Its instructions for many years were given in very modest temporary rooms in the heart of the city, but then the confidence of the community was acquired and funds were secured for the construction of fine and convenient buildings on the confines of the city. A great deal of good sense has been shown in these structures. The chief building is on a plan which admits of enlargement, and is a dignified stone structure, sufficiently ornamented to be pleasing, — perhaps a little too "architectural." In the rear of it are two plainer buildings which pleased me more than the main structure, and seemed to be quite good models. One is the chemical laboratory, which was prepared under the direction of the Prof. of Chemistry, Dr. Roscoe, (of

spectrum fame). I have seen larger and showier rooms of the sort, but none on which so much thought of the right kind appeared to have been expended. The various ingenious contrivances which relate to heating, ventilating, supply of gas, water, light, and removal of all offensive gases, are noteworthy, and show the great advantage of having as a planner a professor who looks after these things in advance, — instead of an architect who forgets them altogether. In addition to the Chem. Laboratory, there is close by a new medical college building, in which there was much of the same sort of contrivance and forethought. Both these buildings are brick, and of very respectable aspect, — but not at all showy in their architecture.

Edinboro has not much that is new in the educational way. Its building for the University is quite old, and tho' once a glory of the city is not now adequate to the wants of the institution, which maintains its distinction especially in medicine. A subscription is in progress for a new building.

St. Andrews is chiefly interesting from its historical associations, and to me from its two Principals, Principal Tulloch, who has just returned from America, and Principal Shairp. The former has just printed the first of two articles on American Colleges, and the papers of Edinb. were full of extracts from it, — closing, as it happened, with his allusions to the Johns Hopkins foundation.

Glasgow is distinguished among all the cities which I have visited by having recently built a great structure, Gothic, quadrangular, and very costly, — (a million and a half of dollars already) for all departments of the University. It is in a new part of the town, Gilmour-hill — and fine costly dwellings are in progress around and beyond it. The site is admirable, and the building very impressive by its size and splendor. But it was worth a visit to Glasgow to hear from the lips of the professors their statements as to how ill adapted it is to their requirements. Mr. Johnson will remember the Gothic quadrangular plans which we went to Hartford to see. Here is a structure in stone like that which we saw on paper, and the very difficulties which we foresaw are realized in fact. But this is not all. The architect, who is a man of fine taste, and great fame, forgot or

omitted to make any preparation for the drainage of this great structure, and the omission was not detected till everything was well under way, when the necessities had to be supplied at extra cost and trouble. I do not like to commit to writing all that I confidentially heard. It is enough to say that in a splendid building given by the munificence of Glasgow gentlemen, the architects, and not the people for whom the college is designed, have had their way.

It was delightful to me to hear at Manchester from the lips of Prof. Roscoe, at Edinboro from the lips of Prof. Tait, — both eminent physicists, and more emphatically at Glasgow, from Sir William Thomson, the electrician, — most eminent of the three, — strong commendations of our friend Mr. Rowland. They predict for him a great career. Two of his articles appear in the last two numbers of the *Philosophical Magazine*, and all dated from the Johns Hopkins University. In this engagement I am sure we have made no mistake.

Rugby Chapel filled with teachers and pupils has interested me as much as any sight of the kind I ever saw.

Ever truly yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

Of Mr. Gilman's visits to Oxford and Cambridge no record whatever seems to have been preserved except the mere names of some of the men whom he met, jotted down in his memorandum book. These included at Oxford Dr. Jowett, Rolleston and Mark Pattison; at Cambridge Professor Sidgwick, George Darwin, the great mathematician Cayley and his fellow-mathematicians Todhunter and Ferrers, and Professor Stokes, the great mathematical physicist. A like mere memorandum of names shows that he met at the famous X Club Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall and others. In "The Launching of a University" Mr. Gilman refers to this dinner at the X Club to which he was invited by Professor Tyndall, his "confidential talk" with Dr. Jowett, and his visit to Sir William Thomson (afterward

Lord Kelvin) in his laboratory at the University of Glasgow, as apparently the most cherished recollections of his British experiences.

There is, however, no room for doubt as to what constituted the most important and the most interesting result of Mr. Gilman's month in England; and it happens too that what seems to have been the original source of the suggestion of Sylvester for the professorship of Mathematics can be pointed to in documentary form. The following letter from Professor Hooker probably reached Mr. Gilman immediately on his arrival in England from the Continent:

ROYAL GARDENS, KEW, SEPT. 11, 1875.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Apropos of your mission to England, and the object which you told me that you had in view, I think that I can perhaps help you to a Professor of Mathematics of the very highest distinction and order, and a practiced teacher.

My friend, J. J. Sylvester, F.R.S., LL.D. (Correspondent of the Institute of France), who was Professor at Woolwich, is tired of inaction, and would gladly accept a sufficiently paid professorship in America. I have known him for years myself and can truly say that he will be a national loss to England if you secure him, as I believe you may. His address is Athenæum Club, London, S. W.

Professor Sylvester's health is admirable and his energies unimpaired. He is a little over middle age I should say, as age goes in this country, between fifty and sixty I suppose, hale, active and strong.

Very sincerely,
JOS. D. HOOKER.

DANIEL COIT GILMAN, &c.

Sylvester was a little older than Dr. Hooker thought, for he was born September 3, 1814; but that his energies were unimpaired was amply demonstrated when he came to assume the duties of the new professorship across the sea.

He was much the oldest member of the Faculty; but whatever might be the comparative value, all things considered, of his contribution to the upbuilding of the Johns Hopkins, there could be no question that as a source of intellectual enthusiasm Sylvester stood out above all his colleagues. Throughout the seven years of his residence in Baltimore he took up one difficult research after another with such ardor, devotion and persistence as might well be the envy of the youngest of his fellow workers. The appointment of Sylvester was strongly urged by Benjamin Peirce, the foremost of American mathematicians, and by Joseph Henry, who might well be called the dean of American men of science; but it was not without some misgiving that Mr. Gilman came to the conclusion that it would be wise to invite him to be one of the little group of men into whose hands the future of the great enterprise was to be committed. "More than one American correspondent," he says,¹ "reminded me of the importance of coöperation among the members of a faculty, with dark hints of possible effervescence. Before asking him to this country I made many inquiries among his English friends respecting his temper, and I received very guarded answers, which awakened the alarm they were designed to allay. Nevertheless, the evidence of Sylvester's intellectual brilliancy and of his renown were so great that the possibility of discord seemed infinitesimal in comparison with his merits; so he was called and so he came." That President Gilman, with his sense of order, his supreme instinct for organization, and his knowledge of the difficulties that were so likely to be met with under the best of circumstances, should have been willing to take the risks here indicated is one of the most notable facts connected with his work in giving shape to the new University. As a matter of fact, the eccentricities of conduct and the

¹ "The Launching of a University," p. 66.

Lord Kelvin) in his laboratory at the University of Glasgow, as apparently the most cherished recollection of his British experiences.

There is, however, no room for doubt as to what constituted the most important and the most interesting part of Mr. Gilman's month in England; and it happens that what seems to have been the original source of the nomination of Sylvester for the professorship of Mathematics is pointed to in documentary form. The following letter from Professor Hooker probably reached Mr. Gilman immediately on his arrival in England from the Continent.

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My friend, J. J. Sylvester, F.R.S., LL.D. (Correspondent of the Institute of France), who was Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, is tired of inaction, and would gladly accept of a well-paid professorship in America. I have known him for years myself and can truly say that he will be a great loss to England if you secure him, as I believe you will. His address is Athenæum Club, London, S. W.

Professor Sylvester's health is admirable and his mind is unimpaired. He is a little over middle age I should say. He goes in this country, between fifty and sixty, hale, active and strong.

Very sincerely,
Jos. D. Hooker.

PRESIDENT GILMAN, &c.

Sylvester was a little older than Dr. Hooker. He was born September 3, 1814; but that his mind was unimpaired was amply demonstrated when he assumed the duties of the new professorship.

be nourished by his instruction. But as the greatness of a university must depend upon its few able scholars, you cannot have a great university without such great men as Sylvester in your corps of teachers. Among your pupils, sooner or later, there must be one who has a genius for geometry. He will be Sylvester's special pupil, the one pupil who will derive from his master knowledge and enthusiasm — and that one pupil will give more reputation to your institution than the ten thousand who will complain of the obscurity of Sylvester, and for whom you will provide another class of teachers. Some men regard this peculiarity of the masters of geometry, to be obscure to ordinary scholars, as a geometric peculiarity. But is it not the same in all departments to him who looks into the depths of the human understanding? Can every dunce read Shakespeare and Goethe and Demosthenes and Æschylus? Is not the true reading of the princes of thought a royal attribute — which only princes possess in their lucid intervals? I hope you will find it in your heart to do for Sylvester what his own country has failed to do — place him where he belongs, and the time will come when all the world will applaud the wisdom of your selection.

Yours very faithfully and most respectfully,
 BENJAMIN PEIRCE.

The actual offer of the professorship of mathematics to Sylvester was not made until after Mr. Gilman's return to Baltimore and consultation with the Trustees, and it was only after a correspondence of several weeks that the matter was closed by Sylvester's acceptance. Accordingly it was not Sylvester but Gildersleeve who was the first professor in the Johns Hopkins University. Very soon after his return Mr. Gilman had entered into correspondence with Professor Gildersleeve. They met by appointment at Washington, December 8, 1875, and it is evident that their discussion of the situation was mutually satisfactory, for three days later Professor Gildersleeve sent President Gilman his ac-

ceptance. "To such confidence as you have reposed in me," he says in a personal letter accompanying his letter of acceptance, "my whole nature responds with all its earnestness and I shall enter upon my new duties with heightened interest because my success will be in a measure yours." Some interesting points concerning tentative plans of the University come up in letters written by Professor Gildersleeve to President Gilman shortly after his appointment. "I do not see," he says in one of them, "why we might not make a respectable beginning even though we may have to work with rather unpromising material. For my part I should be disinclined to publish an ambitious university programme, which might fall through as at Harvard for lack of students. By far the best plan would be the one which you suggested. Pick out the best material that offers and organize that for university work. The rest must be ground through the college mill. Of course the university classes would necessarily be very small — but the lower courses might be so arranged as to bring every student into personal contact with the presiding professor. In a few years, by a system of coöperation with the colleges, we might gradually dispense with the more elementary classes." A personal note is struck in some of the letters. "My visit to Baltimore," he says, referring to the occasion of President Gilman's inauguration, February 22, 1876, "was not only a rare enjoyment but a powerful incentive to hard work for the Johns Hopkins, and I certainly did not dream that so much enthusiasm was left in me. How much of that enthusiasm, however, is due to your personal magnetism, how much to scientific interest, remains to be seen. At all events I do not care to make the analysis just now."

With Sylvester representing the highest aspirations in pure mathematics, and with Gildersleeve standing for a rare combination of philological and literary distinction, the

ancient and honorable university interests of mathematics and classics had been notably cared for in the initial organization of the future University. It remained to make equally effective provision in the three great departments of the sciences of nature, — physics, chemistry and biology. For the professorships at the head of these departments younger men were chosen, men who still had their eminence to establish. All three of them were under thirty years of age. Of Rowland a good deal has already been said in the preceding pages. It needs only to be further mentioned that the tentative beginning which took the shape of his visit to Europe in Mr. Gilman's company developed into his installation as Professor of Physics at the opening of the University, a post which he held until his untimely death and in which he did memorable work and won the highest distinction. For the chair of chemistry the choice fell upon Ira Remsen, then recently returned from his studies in Germany and from his experience as an assistant in chemistry at the University of Tübingen, and at the time filling a professorship at Williams College. It was upon the recommendation of Huxley that H. Newell Martin was called from England to institute the department of biology. How completely the wisdom of the choice was demonstrated in the case of both these men every one knows who is acquainted with the history of the work done in the departments of chemistry and biology of the Johns Hopkins. The success of both these departments in fields of work comparatively new in America surpassed, from the beginning, the most sanguine expectations that may have been entertained of it. The original Faculty of six professors — in addition to the President — was completed by the appointment of Charles D. Morris as Collegiate Professor of Latin and Greek. In this appointment the college idea was explicitly recognized; and Professor Morris represented, not only

in the duties which he officially undertook but in the type of his personality and the nature of his personal influence in the University, an element quite distinctive. An ideal example of the gentleman and scholar, his geniality and kindness, the youthful and almost naïve enthusiasm of his interest in the work of those about him, from the youngest to the oldest — these qualities, no less than his efficiency as a teacher, brought into the atmosphere of the University something that was of inestimable value in its life as a whole. With these six professors as the core of the new University were associated a number of younger men, who from the beginning took part in the work of instruction and to whose numbers additions were made from time to time; and in the fall of 1876 the Johns Hopkins University was launched upon its career.

CHAPTER V

A QUARTER-CENTURY IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESIDENCY

It would be out of place in this biographical record either to go into details in regard to the work of the Johns Hopkins University or to undertake to trace out the particular contributions, by President Gilman on the one hand and by one or another member of the Faculty on the other, to the shaping of its character and the determination of its policies. On the latter head it is sufficient to say that his was the coördinating mind and the decisive voice; that the various problems which had to be dealt with in the early years constantly engaged to the utmost his powers and his interest; that the policy of taking time to permit the beginnings to develop, of letting the University grow into its true self rather than forcing it into a rigid mould, appealed to him particularly; and that it is to the combination of the caution involved in this policy and the boldness of his fundamental purpose that the signal success achieved by the University from the beginning must be ascribed. But in regard to the distinctive features of the Johns Hopkins, while they may not be described in detail, some statement is necessary.

So great a change has taken place throughout the country in the thirty-three years since the foundation of the Johns Hopkins that it is difficult to realize that non-sectarianism, which is now almost universal, was then an exception in our colleges and universities. It was a conspicuous feature of the Johns Hopkins from the start. Not that the Trustees or the President were not religious men, — quite the contrary. Of the fundamental part which religion played in Mr. Gilman's life nothing need be said at this point; and

of the twelve Trustees, seven were Friends, four were attendants at Episcopal churches and one was an Independent Presbyterian. The entire exclusion, however, not only of sectarianism but of anything savoring in the least of religious compulsion or pressure was a feature of the University from the beginning. Those who remember the early years of the University will recall the notice that was posted on the bulletin board at the start and which was renewed each successive year for some time. It was worded somewhat as follows: "A brief religious service will be held every morning at 8.45 in Hopkins Hall. No notice will be taken of the presence or absence of anybody." In this simple and unobtrusive way the attitude of the University was declared, with the result of putting everybody completely at his ease on the subject. That a certain amount of prejudice or hostility to the University was aroused in some quarters by its position in regard to religion was apparently due less to its actual policy than to an accidental circumstance. Mr. Gilman has told the story of the way in which the choice of Professor Huxley as the orator of the University's opening day in September, 1876, brought down indignant condemnations from persons with whom the name of Huxley stood for agnosticism or irreligion rather than for biological science and the advancement of learning:

We had sowed the wind and were to reap the whirlwind. The address had not been accompanied by any accessories except the presentation of the speaker, no other speech, no music, no opening prayer, no benediction. I had proposed to two of the most religious trustees that there should be an introductory prayer, and they had said no, preferring that the discourse should be given as popular lectures are given at the Peabody Institute and elsewhere, without note or comment.

It happened that a correspondent of one of the religious weeklies in New York was present, and he wrote a sensa-

tional letter to his paper, calling attention to the fact that there was no prayer. This was the storm-signal. Many people who thought that a university, like a college, could not succeed unless it was under some denominational control, were sure that this opening discourse was but an overture to the play of irreligious and anti-religious actors. Vain it was to mention the unquestioned orthodoxy of the Trustees, and the ecclesiastical ties of those who had been selected to be the professors. Huxley was bad enough; Huxley without a prayer was intolerable.

Some weeks afterward a letter came into my hands addressed to a Presbyterian minister of Baltimore, by a Presbyterian minister of New York. Both have now gone where such trifles have no importance, so I venture to give the letter, quoting from the autograph. The italics are mine:

“NEW YORK, 3 Oct., 1876.

“Thanks for your letter, my friend, and the information you give. The University advertised Huxley’s Lecture as the ‘Opening’ and so produced the impression which a Baltimore correspondent increased by taking the thing as it was announced. *It was bad enough to invite Huxley. It were better to have asked God to be present. It would have been absurd to ask them both.*

“I am sorry Gilman began with Huxley. But it is possible yet to redeem the University from the stain of such a beginning. No one will be more ready than I to herald a better sign.”

It was several years before the black eye gained its natural colour. People were on the alert for impiety, and were disappointed to find no traces of it — that the faculty was made up of just such men as were found in other faculties, and that in their private characters and their public utterances there was nothing to awaken suspicion or justify mistrust. It was a curious fact, unobserved and perhaps unknown, that four of the first seven professors came from the families of gospel ministers, and a fifth of the group of six was a former Fellow of Oriel and a man of quite unusual devoutness. The truth is that the public had been so wonted to regard colleges as religious foundations, and so used to their control by ministers, that it was not easy to accept at once the idea of an undenominational foundation controlled by laymen. Harvard and Cornell have both encountered the

like animosity. At length the prejudice wore away without any manifesto or explanation from the authorities. From the beginning there was a voluntary assembly daily held for Christian worship; soon the Young Men's Christian Association was engrafted; the students became active in the churches and Sunday-schools and charities of Baltimore; some graduates entered the ministry, and one became a bishop, while the advanced courses in Hebrew, Greek, history, and philosophy, were followed by ministers of many Protestant denominations, Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis. It is also gratifying to remember that many of the ministers of Baltimore, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist, have intrusted their sons to the guidance of the local seminary whose influence and instructions they could readily watch and carefully estimate. As I consider the situation, I wish it were possible for religious people to agree upon what should be taught to the young, in respect to religious doctrine, or at least to unite in religious worship, yet I cannot forget that, in ages and in countries where one authority has been recognized and obeyed, neither intellect nor morals have attained their highest development.¹

Mr. Gilman in the autobiographical notes tells of his first meeting with Huxley in England:

I was introduced to Professor Huxley at the dinner table of Sir Lauder Brunton. He was then in full activity as a writer and teacher, and I asked permission to follow one of his lectures at South Kensington. They were given very early in the morning, — at nine o'clock, unless I am mistaken. The exact subject I cannot tell, but it involved a minute delineation of the differences of vegetable and animal life in the earliest stages. The lecturer had before him a slip of paper, about as large as the palm of his hand, and this contained all his notes. I was impressed by the grace of his delivery; there were no "hems" nor "haws," no repetition, no corrections. Every word came into its place with perfect fitness. After the lecture was over, he invited me to his study, and there I ventured to say to him, "Will you tell me

¹ "The Launching of a University," pp. 22-24.

how you have acquired this exactness of speech? Even to one who knows nothing of the subject, you have made, apparently without effort, a perfectly clear and interesting statement, — but without any manuscript." In his answer he told me that in early life he could not speak in public. An older brother could "bring down the house," but he could not. His success was the result of effort. "I always go before an audience," he continued, "with a definite scheme of what I am to say, and I know just what illustrations I am to introduce and where." "But," said I, "that does not explain your accurate choice of words, as it seems *ex tempore*, when some very nice distinctions must be made." "Oh," said he, "I write out all those passages." "And commit them to memory?" I asked. "Not at all," was his reply, "but having carefully written what I wish to say, I avoid errors or inaccuracies on this side and the other. Often, better words and phrases occur to me in speaking with the stimulus of an audience than I have thought of at my desk." These hints of Huxley's methods I have often given to young men, for he was the most felicitous of lecturers on science whom I ever heard.

Among the subjects touched upon by Professor Huxley in his address was the question of sinking large sums of money in buildings. From what Huxley says on this topic it is evident that the policy of concentrating the resources of the new institution upon intellectual activity, leaving all architectural ambitions for the future, had been deliberately adopted. Professor Huxley said:

At the commencement of this address I ventured to assume that I might, if I thought fit, criticise the arrangements which have been made by the board of trustees, but I confess that I have little to do but to applaud them. Most wise and sagacious seems to me the determination not to build for the present. It has been my fate to see great educational funds fossilise into mere bricks and mortar, in the petrifying springs of architecture, with nothing left to work the institution they were intended to support. A great warrior

is said to have made a desert and called it peace. Administrators of educational funds have sometimes made a palace and called it a university. If I may venture to give advice in a matter which lies out of my proper competency, I would say that whenever you do build, get an honest bricklayer, and make him build you just such rooms as you really want, leaving ample space for expansion. And a century hence, when the Baltimore and Ohio shares are at one thousand premium, and you have endowed all the professors you need, and built all the laboratories that are wanted, and have the best museum and the finest library that can be imagined; then, if you have a few hundred thousand dollars you don't know what to do with, send for an architect and tell him to put up a façade. If American is similar to English experience, any other course will probably lead you into having some stately structure, good for your architect's fame, but not in the least what you want.

It is interesting to note in this connection an extract from a report of the Maryland State Board of Education, dated January 15, 1874, which Mr. Gilman jotted down in his memorandum book of 1875 without comment: "With ample means at their command it will not be difficult for the trustees to raise an architectural pile that shall be a lasting memorial of its founder, and a fitting temple for the votaries of learning to worship in." Of course this was noted by Mr. Gilman as an impressive statement of the thing that was to be avoided. On the subject of building Mr. Gilman says in the autobiographical notes:

The Trustees decided to postpone the question of buildings until the scope of the proposed establishment should become more definite, and accordingly they bought two dwelling houses on the west side of Howard Street, near Monument, put a new roof over them and built an annex which contained an assembly hall, seating when crowded two hundred persons, a well-lighted room for work in biology and an apartment, with annexes, which would serve as reading

room and would hold a library of forty or fifty thousand volumes. This central site proved to be so convenient that the question of removal to Clifton was postponed for several years and then it was brought to the front by the necessity of providing more ample laboratories. I was confined to my room by a serious and prolonged illness while the discussion was in progress, and a note was brought to me saying that the Trustees had determined to buy adjacent property and proceed to build the buildings required for Chemistry and Biology. This was the beginning of a long controversy between those who desired that Clifton should become at once the site of the University and those who would postpone the decision. It will do no good to revive in this place the memories of an unpleasant state of affairs which continued for several years, and was not closed until the sale to the City of Baltimore of Clifton for a park. Gradually pieces of property adjacent to the original purchase were secured and the very practical but not very beautiful buildings now occupied were successively constructed.

The impression seems to prevail widely that undergraduate instruction was introduced into the University only some years after its opening, so that the establishment of an undergraduate department was a modification of the plan at first adopted. This impression is not unnatural, as it is true that all the stress was laid on the organization of graduate work, and it was felt by the University as well as by the outside world that this was the great service which the Johns Hopkins University was rendering to the country. The fact, however, is that candidates for the A.B. degree were received from the very beginning; and there were certainly two very weighty reasons for doing so. One was the desirability of establishing closer relations with the local community, and a more directly useful activity in Maryland and the States adjacent to the south, than could be attained if the teaching work of the University were limited entirely to

graduate instruction. The other reason concerns the efficiency of the graduate department itself; and, whether distinctly in view from the beginning or not, is certainly pointed out by actual experience. The standards of our colleges are so various that the mere classification of a student as graduate on account of his right to place the first two letters of the alphabet after his name furnishes little assurance of his having either the knowledge or the training necessary for successful graduate work. Among the graduates from the smaller colleges of the South and West, and of not a few Eastern colleges, the opportunity to supplement and rectify the training they had received by attendance upon undergraduate classes during the beginnings of their graduate work was invaluable; and, as has been said above, this opportunity was provided from the beginning. Thus the undergraduate department became at once a local college of importance, a feeder to the University in its higher work, and, in view of conditions which could not be overlooked, a most valuable adjunct to this work itself. At various times in the history of the University the question has been more or less mooted whether the existence of the undergraduate department was beneficial to the University; but doubt on this head has never grown to serious dimensions, and the undergraduate work has always formed an important and not neglected part of the University's activity. Begun in a tentative way, it soon attained definite organization and was the object of as careful attention and serious thought on the part of the President and Trustees as any other part of the work. Of course the central question to be disposed of in regard to it was that of the shape which the elective system should take; and this problem was solved in a clean-cut way, adopting neither the extreme form of the elective system represented by Harvard nor the opposite extreme of giving students no choice except that between the

"old college course" and a "scientific course," such as in many colleges has been offered as leading to the Ph.B. degree. The University made a valuable contribution to the organization of college education by instituting the "group system." Under this system, as the name implies, a student is given the choice of six or seven courses, or groups of studies, each being characterized by the dominance of two subjects — as, for instance, Greek and Latin, Latin and Mathematics, Mathematics and Physics, History and Political Economy — designated as "major," while a certain number of other prescribed studies are ranked as "minor," the whole being designed to form a somewhat harmonious aggregate. Certain required studies form part of every group; and a certain amount of deviation is permissible also in the way of substitution, so that the elasticity of the system is somewhat greater — though not much — than appears on the face of it. The same degree, that of Bachelor of Arts, is attained in all the groups. This system has been adhered to by the University to the present time and has been imitated elsewhere; and it seems safe to say that at no time has it been more widely looked upon as a wise solution of the problem of elective study than at present.

The undergraduate work, however, was of course a secondary matter. The vital force of the University was directed in the main to the building up in America of a true university, — a university permeated by the spirit of the universities of Germany, with research as the center, the heart, of the whole organism. An exact imitation of the German university was neither attempted nor desired; but the conclusion was soon arrived at that the German doctorate of philosophy must be set up as the fixed goal of students, and that the German *Seminar* must be one of the chief instruments of instruction. That before receiving the university

degree the candidate must have shown the training of an investigator in his chief subject, as well as the acquisition of a certain amount of specialized knowledge, was thus fundamental in the Johns Hopkins plan from the beginning; it need hardly be added that, as a matter of course, productive research was, generally speaking, understood to be an indispensable part of the activities of the professorial body.

The project of establishing twenty fellowships, to be held for a period of from one to three years by young men of good attainments and of unusual promise, had been adopted by Mr. Gilman before he had gathered his professors together, and it proved to be a factor of the first importance in the creation of that inspiring atmosphere which distinguished the early years of the Johns Hopkins, and which all who shared in the labors and the enthusiasms of that time cherish among the brightest memories of their lives. The fellowship and scholarship method of attracting students has, in the past thirty years, spread to great dimensions in our country, with results that are not without their objectionable side; but neither at the Johns Hopkins nor elsewhere is the idea of the fellowship now what it was when Mr. Gilman gathered in the aspiring young men who held the Johns Hopkins fellowships in the first few years. It may be somewhat difficult to point out the exact difference; but perhaps this may best be indicated by saying that the Johns Hopkins fellowship in those days did not seem a routine matter, an every-day step in the regular process toward a doctorate or a professorship, but a rare and peculiar opportunity for study and research, eagerly seized by men who had been hungering and thirsting for such a possibility. Of course, not every one of the twenty was a *rara avis*, nor was every one equally enthusiastic. But, on the whole, here was a little phalanx of gifted and ardent young men gathered from every quarter of the country, some of

them fresh from study in Germany, and nearly all filled with the idea that a new world was opening out for American learning and that they were the first to be admitted to the privilege of entering upon its intellectual joys. It may not be out of place to quote from an article written fifteen years later by Professor Royce, who was one of the first band of fellows, a few sentences in which he records his impressions of those early days:

The beginning of the Johns Hopkins University was a dawn wherein " 't was bliss to be alive." Freedom and wise counsel one enjoyed together. The air was full of noteworthy work done by the older men of the place, and of hopes that one might find a way to get a little working-power one's self. . . . One longed to be a doer of the word, and not a hearer only, a creator of his own infinitesimal fraction of a product, bound in God's name to produce it when the time came.¹

Almost as essential to the upbuilding of the university's distinctive work as the arrangements directly pertaining to it was the initiation of a series of scientific journals, the first of their kind in America. The number of journals devoted each to its own special branch of science and scholarship now issued in this country is so great as sometimes to seem almost appalling, but when the work of the Baltimore university was begun journals of this nature were unknown among us. The stimulus they give to the prosecution of research is quite beyond computation, and it is by no means the least of Mr. Gilman's services that he felt a keen realization of this fact and acted upon it. The University had not been in existence two years when the *American Journal of Mathematics* was instituted with Professor Sylvester as editor; and the *American Chemical Journal* under the

¹ *Scribner's Magazine*, 1891, Vol. X. p. 383.

editorship of Professor Remsen and the *American Journal of Philology* under that of Professor Gildersleeve followed in the two succeeding years. Concerning the starting of the *Journal of Mathematics* — which, as the father of all that great brood of learned journals that have since overspread the country, deserves special attention — two quotations will be of interest. One is from the stenographic notes that have been preserved of the farewell talk of Professor Sylvester at the reception given him by the University, December 20, 1883, on the eve of his departure for England in pursuance of his appointment as Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford:

And now, I cannot content myself with referring only to the labors of my colleagues, I cannot refrain from saying how much we are indebted to the labors of our President. If this University is pursuing a great idea, and is calculated to produce a lasting impression upon the intellectual forces of this country, I say what I have said at all times and seasons, in sunshine and cloud, when I have been on the most friendly terms with him and when we have had occasional tiffs, I say that that is due to our President.

You have spoken about our *Mathematical Journal*. Who is the founder? Mr. Gilman is continually telling people that I founded it. That is one of my claims to recognition which I strenuously deny. I assert that he is the founder. Almost the first day that I landed in Baltimore, when I dined with him in the presence of Reverdy Johnson and Judge Brown, I think, from the first moment he began to plague me to found a Mathematical Journal on this side of the water something similar to the *Quarterly Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics* with which my name was connected as nominal editor. I said it was useless, there were no materials for it. Again and again he returned to the charge, and again and again I threw all the cold water I could on the scheme, and nothing but the most obstinate persistence and perseverance brought his views to prevail. To him, and him alone, therefore, is really due whatever im-

portance attaches to the foundation of the *American Journal of Mathematics* which bears that delightful motto for which I am indebted to my friend, Professor Gildersleeve, — that is, I had the idea of it and he gave me the exact quotation, Πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομέν — the only journal in the world that has a Greek motto! That is the clinching of things invisible, that is the leading idea of Mathematics.

The other is a note from Professor Newcomb which certainly confirms the impression that Professor Sylvester had retained of the keen interest President Gilman took in the foundation of the *Journal of Mathematics*:

WASHINGTON, November 4, 1876.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

It is my duty to inform you herewith of the possible *faux pas* which I made last night, but which I hope will actually turn out the opposite. Supposing that the subject of the Mathematical Journal had been discussed by your Executive Committee, I asked Judge Brown what he thought of it. Having thus let pussy out of the bag, I was taken aback by finding him disclaiming all knowledge of her. However, he took so kindly to the project, which I now tried to paint in the most glowing colors, that I trust no harm will be done.

Yours very truly,

SIMON NEWCOMB.

Besides establishing the more ambitious journals, the University early began to provide facilities for the publication of minor papers and preliminary announcements relating to the work done by investigators in the various departments. It is not necessary to enumerate these, though some became of great importance, and the long series of the *Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science* cannot be passed over without notice. It should be mentioned, too, that the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* became a regular vehicle for the publication of briefer

papers and summaries of work done. But the following letter from Professor Remsen to President Gilman, written toward the close of the first year (and before any of the large journals had been launched), may serve as a reminder of the dearth in our country at that time of all provision for the systematic encouragement of research by publication.

May 7th, 1877.

MY DEAR SIR:

I beg leave through you to make the following request of the Trustees of the University:

During the past few months four of the gentlemen working in the Chemical Laboratory have been engaged in original investigations under my direction. The investigations are not yet completed, but certain definite results have been reached of such a character as to indicate clearly that we have opened fields which may profitably occupy our time for a year or more to come.

At the present juncture it is desirable to publish preliminary announcements describing what we have thus far done and what we intend to do. It is desirable mainly for two reasons; 1st, that we may be recognized as soon as possible as belonging to the working chemists of the country; 2nd, that the results of our labors may be insured to us, or, in other words, to establish our priority.

In Germany, France and England there are journals intended for such preliminary publications, and articles sent to them are sure to appear promptly. In this country there is one journal ("The American Chemist") which might be utilized in the same way, but it is published very irregularly, and articles sent to it rarely appear in less than six months.

In view of these facts, I request that we may be authorized to publish from time to time, under the title of "Notes from the Chemical Laboratory" such preliminary notices of our investigations as it may be desirable to get promptly in print.

With our present working force of chemists the amount of

matter which would be ready for publication during a year would hardly exceed fifty or sixty printed pages.

The enclosed "proofs" will illustrate the character of these notes, and the form of publication, subject to revision.

Yours very respectfully,

IRA REMSEN.

It is odd to think of this modest request for the publication of some fifty or sixty pages of notes from the Chemical Laboratory, now that hardly one of our scores of universities, little and big, in the center of New England culture or in the "wild West," is so poor or unpretending as to be without its output of scientific bulletins or transactions or proceedings to tell of the researches carried on within its walls.

No appreciation of what went on in the foundation years of the Johns Hopkins University would be comprehensive, no explanation of its signal success in becoming at once a focus of true university spirit would be complete, which left out of account a certain element of atmosphere — the atmosphere not only of hard and enthusiastic work by each in his own domain, but something more general, more pervasive. And to the production of this atmosphere a most valuable contribution was made by the institution of courses of public lectures given chiefly by eminent scholars from a distance. The beginnings of the University's work were necessarily circumscribed in many ways; and it was a most happy thought to add to what was being done in the regular course of things an element of such richness and color — as well as of solid intellectual quality — as these lectures provided. Without the background of history, without the stimulus of comparison or rivalry with similar institutions, in an environment offering no sustenance to the peculiar and specialized activities being carried on by little groups of workers, it requires no great effort to imagine the danger

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that there might be something arid or anæmic about the life of the Johns Hopkins University in its beginnings. As a matter of fact quite the opposite of all this actually characterized those early years, and it would be difficult to say in just what measure this happy result was brought about by that added touch of breadth and distinction which was given by the presence of men like Lowell and Child and Whitney and Newcomb and Cooley and Walker, and by the refreshing perspectives of great fields of thought which they and other non-resident and resident lecturers of the first two years placed before this little body of university pioneers and the cultivated public of Baltimore. A table of the public lectures given in 1876-77 and 1877-78 appears in the third annual report of the President, and will give a better picture of the part these lectures played than could be given by general comment:

Professor	Subject	No. of Lectures
1876-77		
Gildersleeve	Greek Lyric Poetry	20
Rabillon	French Literature	19
Newcomb	History of Astronomy	20
Child	Chaucer	20
Lowell	Dante	20
Whitney	Comparative Philology	18
Hilgard	Geodetic Surveys	20
Walker	Money	20
Cooley	Torts	20
Mallet	Waste Chemical Products	20
1877-78		
Remsen	History of Chemistry	12
Billings	Medical Education	20
Gildersleeve	Homer's Odyssey	20
Rabillon	French Literature	20
Morris	History of Philosophy	20
Child	Comparative Ballads	20
Child	Shakspeare	10

Cooley	Constitutional Law	6
James	Psychology	10
Allen	History of Fourteenth Century . .	20
Walker	Finance	21
Mallet	History of Chemical Industry . .	20

A letter from Professor Child written in December, 1875, shows how early the germ of this plan of bringing eminent men temporarily to Baltimore entered into Mr. Gilman's thoughts, and it is interesting too as showing his endeavor to secure Child as professor. It may also serve as a reminder of the progress that has been made since those days in the attitude of universities toward such scholars as Child, a contrast which might be drawn with even greater force than in this Harvard instance by recalling the situation at Yale of Child's peer in scholarship, Professor Whitney:

CAMBRIDGE, December 19, 1875.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

It was not till two or three days ago that I could get speech with President Eliot. I found him unwilling to have me leave Cambridge and disposed to do all that he could to make my continuance here more agreeable. The obstacles to my leaving Cambridge are very numerous, and those which come from family duties are not to be overcome. As I told you, a large salary is a consideration that my circumstances will not allow me to make light of. The liberal plan of your University presents attractions which are at least equal to the better salary. You see, therefore, that I do not find it easy to decline the honor which you offer me. If you will take off one half my years and the obligations to other people which I have incurred in them, I will accept your proposition with delight.

I mentioned to President Eliot your suggestion that if I could not accept a full appointment as professor, I should come to Baltimore for the month of February. I told him that this was a proposal which I should like to accept. The difficulty in the way is that during one half of the time of

my absence my classes — according to the present arrangements — would be unprovided for. An exchange with another professor is impracticable, because no two professors have the same students. The President did not wish however that I should at once give up the thought of coming to you for a month: he could suggest at the time no expedient to provide for my classes. We thought some arrangement might perhaps be hit upon. You will perhaps, therefore, allow me to hold that part of your proposition under consideration for a time. I do not quite know what you could want me to do. Not very much can be effected in the way of instruction in four weeks. I do not regularly instruct by lectures here, though I should be willing to do this, if it were desired. After this year I am to have no more *Themes* (thanks to you) and shall give my time entirely to the English Language and Literature. I should be glad to have you say, some time when you have the leisure, what you would wish to have me undertake. Besides this, it will be as much for my convenience as for yours to have the time when an answer must be given fixed. I should also wish to know what the J. H. U. would pay for the kind of services desired.

I hope I have not put you to inconvenience by delaying my answer so long. A decision was far from being a simple matter. I have had your interest on my mind, I believe, as well as my own. Wishing you a much better man in my place, I am always

Your faithful and obliged servant,
F. J. CHILD.

A passage in "The Launching of a University" gives some delightful glimpses of Lowell and Child:

Mr. James Russell Lowell, then Professor Lowell, and Professor Child spent the month of February, 1877, with us, and during a part of the same period Professor Charles E. Norton was lecturing at the Peabody Institute. They were revered as three wise men of the East. Lowell made but little preparation for his lectures, which were devoted to

Romance poetry, with Dante as the central theme — I mean that he made but little special preparation for each discourse. He had with him the accumulated notes of a long-continued professorship, and I think he told me that he had read Dante forty times over. His manner was so captivating that he would have delighted his auditors if he had simply stated the most commonplace reflections on mediæval poetry; but his literary sagacity, his humour, his learning, and his citations charmed all who heard him, more, perhaps, than greater elaboration and more logical treatment would have done. In private, he was delightful. I treasure a vivid picture of his getting down on his knees so as to be of the same height as a little girl seven years old, and offering her his arm as he escorted her to the supper-table; and I know a lady who still counts as a valuable memento the offhand verses with which he acknowledged a bunch of roses received from her on his recovery from an attack of illness.

At the commemoration exercises on Washington's Birthday, Mr. Lowell read by request that part of his "Ode under the Old Elm" (Canto viii), in which a glowing tribute is paid to Virginia. In a letter to Miss Norton, the scene is thus described by the poet himself. After speaking of the address by Professor Gildersleeve on classical studies and that by Professor Sylvester on the study of mathematics, "both of them very good and just enough spicy with the personality of the speaker to be taking," he goes on to say: "Then I, by special request, read a part of my Cambridge Elm poem, and actually drew tears from the eyes of bitter Secessionists — comparable with those iron ones that rattled down Pluto's cheek. I did n't quite like to read the invocation to Virginia here — I was willing enough three or four hundred miles north — but I think it did good. Teackle Wallis (Charles will tell you who he is), a prisoner of Fort Warren, came up to thank me with dry eyes (which he and others assured me had been flooded), and Judge Brown with the testifying drops still on his lids."

Lowell was a constant listener to Child, and he enjoyed the lectures as much as any of us. "You missed a great pleasure," he says to Professor Norton, "in not hearing him read the "Nonnes Prestes" tale. I certainly never

heard anything better. He wound into the meaning of it (as Dr. Johnson says of Burke) like a serpent, or perhaps I should come nearer to it if I said that he injected the veins of the poem with his own sympathetic humour till it seemed to live again. I could see his hearers take the fun before it came, their faces lighting with the reflection of his. I never saw anything better done. I wish I could inspire myself with his example, but I continue dejected and lumpish. . . . Child goes on winning all ears and hearts. I am rejoiced to have this chance of seeing so much of him, for though I loved him before, I did not know how *lovable* he was till this intimacy." There is another letter from "Bahl-timer" to Miss Norton, from which I make a longer citation, chiefly for the sake of Child — partly for the sake of Baltimore hospitality. "Sylvester paid a charming compliment to Child, and so did Gildersleeve. The former said that Child had invented a new pleasure for them in his reading of Chaucer, and Gildersleeve that you almost saw the dimple of Chaucer's own smile as his reading felt out the humour of the verse. The house responded cordially. If I had much vanity I should be awfully cross, but I am happy to say that I have enjoyed dear Child's four weeks' triumph (of which he alone is unconscious), to the last laurel-leaf. He is *such* a delightful creature! I never saw so much of him before, and should be glad I came here if it were for nothing but my nearer knowledge and enjoyment of him.

"We are overwhelmed with kindness here. I feel very much as an elderly oyster might who was suddenly whisked away into a polka by an electric eel. How I shall ever do for a consistent hermit again, heaven only knows. I eat five meals a day, as on board a Cunarder on the mid-ocean, and on the whole bear it pretty well, especially now that there are only four lectures left."

The public lectures, while playing a less prominent part, have continued to be an important feature at the University ever since, and lectures given by visiting professors before separate departments of the University have also formed a valuable adjunct to the work. Two permanent establish-

ments have been made in this line by special endowment, — the Turnbull lectureship of Poetry, which has brought to the University in successive years Stedman, Jebb, Brunetière, Woodberry and others; and the Schouler lectureship in History and Political Science, which was inaugurated last spring by a course of lectures on "Public Opinion and Popular Government" by the President-elect of Harvard University.

The recognition by Mr. Gilman of the part that might be played in the building up of an intellectual atmosphere by public lectures such as these, and by the presence of the notable men who gave them, was not in the nature of a happy thought, an accidental lucky hit. It was an outcome of that breadth of view, and that alertness for the discovery of large possibilities, that were characteristic of him. In regard to individual men, as well as in regard to schemes of work, his eyes were open to what was outside the customary routine, and quick to seize upon anything of distinguished excellence. Many instances might be cited of his utilizing peculiar opportunities that lay off the beaten path. Thus the proximity of Professor Newcomb to the seat of the University suggested the establishment of close advisory relations with him, although it was impossible to make him part of the University Faculty; and at a later time the singular genius of Charles S. Peirce was made a source of remarkable intellectual stimulation in the University through the establishment of a lectureship which he filled along lines quite peculiarly his own. In the only other instance which shall be cited, Mr. Gilman's sympathetic insight effected a service in which his interest was perhaps equally divided between the question of promoting the University's work and that of helping to relieve the burdens of struggling genius and noble manhood.

It was very early in his residence in Baltimore that Mr.

Gilman became interested in the work and the personality of Sidney Lanier. In an article in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for April, 1905, he tells of the beginnings of his interest in Lanier:

As a Baltimorean who had just formed the acquaintance of Lanier (both of us being strangers at that time in a city which we came to love as a most hospitable and responsive home), I was much interested in his appointment.¹ It was then true, though Dr. Holmes had not yet said it, that Baltimore had produced three poems, each of them the best of its kind: "The Star Spangled Banner" of Key, "The Raven" of Poe, and "Maryland, my Maryland" by Randall. Was it to produce a fourth poem as remarkable as these? Lanier's "Cantata" appeared in one of the daily journals, prematurely. I read it as one reads newspaper articles, with a rapid glance, and could make no sense of it. Rhyme without reason I would not say, but certainly words without sentences. I heard the comments of other bewildered critics. I read the piece again and again before the meaning began to dawn on me. Soon afterwards, Lanier's own explanation appeared and the Dawn became Daylight. The ode was not written "to be read." It was to be sung, — and sung not by a single voice, with a piano accompaniment, but in the open air, by a chorus of many hundred voices and with the accompaniment of a majestic orchestra, to music especially written for it by a composer of great distinction. The critical test would be its rendition. From this point of view the Cantata must be judged.

I remember well the day of trial. The President of the United States, the Emperor of Brazil, the Governors of States, the judges of the highest courts, the chief military and naval heroes, were seated on the platform in the face of an immense assembly. There was no pictorial effect in the way they were grouped. They were a mass of living beings, a crowd of black-coated dignitaries, not arranged in any impressive order. No Cathedral of Canterbury, no

¹ To write a cantata for the opening of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.

Sanders Hall, no episcopal or academic gowns. The oratory was likewise ineffective. There were loud voices and vigorous gestures, but none of the eloquence which enchants a multitude. The devotional exercises awakened no sentiment of reverence. At length came the Cantata. From the overture to the closing cadence it held the attention of the vast throng of listeners, and when it was concluded loud applause rung through the air. A noble conception had been nobly rendered. Words and music, voices and instruments, produced an impression as remarkable as the rendering of the Hallelujah Chorus in the nave of Westminster Abbey. Lanier had triumphed. It was an opportunity of a lifetime to test upon a grand scale his theory of verse. He came off victorious.

This was in 1876, shortly before the opening of the University. Some months later, in pursuance of a letter of inquiry from Lanier, Mr. Gilman had an interview with the poet, in which plans for a chair of Music and Poetry at the University were discussed. "I was anxious," says President Gilman, "to have him appointed to such a chair, but the trustees did not see their way to do so." Mr. Gilman's interest in Lanier, however, did not diminish, and two years later he was appointed lecturer in English Literature at the University. Mr. Gilman's letter of February 4, 1879, informing him of the appointment, seems to have been in the nature of a birthday surprise, and closes with the words: "I sincerely hope that we may have the benefit of your co-operation." How keen was his interest in Lanier's success in the proposed lectures may be seen from the following letter:

PRINCETON, MASS., July 16, 1879.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have received yours of the 13th, with enclosures, which I have read with yours of June 30th. You have a high ideal and I certainly hope that your success in striving after it may be all that we anticipate. I am not sure but "Litera-

ture " will be a better term than " Poetry " for the lecture-ship or chair, — but this is quite secondary. I do not like to venture upon comments in regard to the details of a scheme which you have considered much more than I, and are much more competent to judge of. Even the suggestions which might arise in conversation, it is hardly wise to put on paper, — lest they should be made thereby more important than they really are. But perhaps I can help you give a practical form to the scheme by some general comments upon the hearers whom we have thus far reached in our three years' work.

1. There is a miscellaneous company, including some persons of very high cultivation; many of general liveliness of mind and good purpose; and a very few specialists, — who like to attend the *Hopkins Hall lectures*. These lectures attract attention to our work, cause it to be talked about among educated people; quicken many minds not able to quicken themselves; and help many of our own young men who are working in different departments of study to keep up an interest in literature, history, etc. These " Hopkins Hall lectures " ought to be carefully prepared, — but they should give general views, not minute criticisms, or facts, or very abstract philosophy. . . .

2. We have a company of undergraduate students of the usual college age, — all of them more or less trained in the study of ancient or modern languages, or both. Among them, next year, we ought to be able to make a class, perhaps of *ten*, possibly of *twenty*, I wish it might be of *thirty* or *forty*, who would take up the study of Literature, — probably as part of a major or of a minor course in English, leading to the degree of B.A. . . .

3. We may wake up a few persons (such as Royce was) among the Fellows or Graduates, who will take up Literature in a truly earnest and philosophical spirit, — and do masterly work, but I do not suppose there will be many of these the first year. After it is known what you can give and how attractively you give it, — I think you will not be without a few earnest followers.

Now in order to " realize " your aims, I think that next winter you might find it wise to give one good public course.

The very lectures of last winter may be fitly repeated. I should like to have that course come before Christmas. After the New Year vacation, I think you would be so well known among us that you would gather around you, chiefly among our undergraduates, a company of special workers. I doubt whether in such material as you are likely to find among us, there are many who will take up and do justice to such theses as you have sketched. . . .

I think your scheme may be admirably worked in not only with our major and minor courses in English, but with all other literary courses, French and German, Latin and Greek. The teachers of these subjects pursue chiefly language courses. They study the grammar, the history, the use of Latin, Greek, French, German, — not exclusively but for linguistic and philological more than for literary lessons. Now we need among us someone like you, loving literature and poetry and treating it in such a way as to enlist and inspire many students.

I think your aims and your preparation admirable. I can make no suggestions upon these points. I only desire that in the form of presentation, you may be ready to adapt yourself to such circumstances as will develop themselves; and that you will not expect or attempt *too much the first year* lest we all be disappointed. We suppose Mr. Cook to be a well trained philologist. I think when you come to be acquainted with him, and with our eclectic (and therefore complex) courses of study, you will see just what is needed. I am very glad that you lend us your aid, and you may rely upon all the help I can give to make your work successful. Pray write again, and believe me

Yours very truly,

D. C. GILMAN.

One other letter to Lanier, written the following year, may be quoted:

November 15, 1880.

MY DEAR MR. LANIER:

On our return Saturday from the sad errand which took us out of town last week, I found upon my table the copy of

the Boy's Arthur which you have been so kind as to send me. I have already read the preface, and looked through the entire volume, and I reached the conclusion that I know at least three boys, in three different cities, who must have the Arthur book for their Christmas present. You are doing a right good service by suggesting such old, sound stories to the readers of our younger generation, — and you seem to me yourself a valiant knight, fighting against ill health and other opponents, a fight for all that is noble and inspiring. It is a wonder to me perpetually that you can complete so many good undertakings, and I hope you will have a life as long as you wish for, to devise and execute fresh enterprises.

Yours sincerely,

D. C. GILMAN.

The development of the work of the philosophical faculty — the establishment in this country of the standards and ideals of scholarship and scientific research which are characteristic of the German universities — was quite sufficient to absorb the interest and to center the attention of those engaged in the activities of the Johns Hopkins University, and of friends of learning throughout the country who were watching its progress. Liberally as the University had been endowed — extraordinary liberality according to the standards of those days — it soon became evident, especially in view of the unfavorable course of events affecting the chief investment of the University's funds, that expansion in the direction of a medical school, though expressly contemplated by the founder, was, for the present, out of the question. And more than this should be said. Although nobody who had given any thought to the subject could fail to see that medical education in America was on a plane far lower than we had every reason to expect and demand, and although everywhere in the higher institutions there was a steady striving for better things and a gradual

progress upward, yet this progress was slow and nowhere did there seem to be in practical contemplation a bold, radical, creative plan of attaining to a distinctly higher level. Perhaps nothing testifies more conclusively to Mr. Gilman's rare instinct for creative usefulness than the fact, of which there is abundant evidence, that from the very beginning of his work in Baltimore the establishment of a medical school which should be a signal addition to the country's educational resources was continually in his mind. It is certainly a most remarkable circumstance that although seventeen years intervened between the opening of the Johns Hopkins University and the opening of its Medical School, and although in this interval every ambitious university in the country was stirred up by the example set at Baltimore and instituting work similar to that done there in the philosophical faculty, it still remained for the Johns Hopkins University to make in medical education that great step forward which so evidently needed to be made and which, when made in 1893, was recognized as coördinate in importance with that of 1876 in the school of letters and science. It was undoubtedly Mr. Gilman's hope and expectation at the outset that the Medical School would be opened very much sooner; but when the time and the opportunity came, he availed himself of them with a success that must have surpassed his own most sanguine expectations. From the very first the importance of the object was prominent in his thoughts. In his inaugural address, February 22, 1876, he outlined as follows his view of what the new university might do for the promotion of medical education:

When we turn to the existing provisions for medical instruction in this land and compare them with those of European universities; when we see what inadequate endowments have been provided for our medical schools, and to what abuses the system of fees for tuition has led; when

we see that in some of our very best colleges the degree of Doctor of Medicine can be obtained in half the time required to win the degree of Bachelor of Arts; when we see the disposition of the laymen at home and the profession abroad to treat diplomas as blank paper, and the prevalence of the quackery vaunting its diplomas; when we read the reports of the medical faculty in their own professional journals; and when we see the difficulties that have been encountered in late attempts to reorganize the existing medical schools, it is clear that something should be done. Then, turning to the other side of the picture, when we see what admirable teachers have given instruction among us in medicine and surgery; what noble hospitals have been founded; what marvellous discoveries in surgery have been made by our countrymen; what ingenious instruments they have contrived; what humane and skilful appliances they have provided on the battle-field; what admirable measures are in progress for the advancement of hygiene and the promotion of public health; what success has attended recent efforts to reform the system of medical instruction; — when we observe all this, we need not fear that the day is distant, we may rather rejoice that the morning has dawned, which will see endowments for medical science as munificent as those now provided for any branch of learning, and schools as good as those now provided in any other land.

It will doubtless be long, after the opening of the university, before the opening of the hospital; and this interval may be spent in forming plans for the department of medicine. But in the meantime we have an excellent opportunity to provide instruction antecedent to the professional study of medicine. At the present moment medical students avoid the ordinary colleges. A glance at the catalogue is enough to show that the usual classical or academic course is unattractive to such scholars. The reasons need not be given here. But who can doubt that a course may be maintained, like that already begun in the Sheffield School at New Haven, which shall train the eye, the hand and the brain for the later study of medicine? Such a course would include abundant practice in the laboratories of chemistry, zoology and physics; the study of the anatomy, physiology and pa-

thology of the lower forms of life; the investigation of the principles of physics and mechanics, and of climatic or meteorological laws; the geographical distribution of disease; the remedial agencies of nature and art; and, besides these scientific studies, the student should acquire enough of French and German to follow with ease European science, and enough of Latin for his professional needs. In other words, in our scheme of a university, great prominence should be given to the studies which bear upon life — the group now called biological sciences.

Such facilities as are now afforded under Huxley in London and Rolleston at Oxford and Foster at Cambridge, and in the best German universities, should here be introduced. They would serve us in the training of naturalists, but they would serve us still more in the training of physicians. By the time we are ready to open a school of medicine, we might hope to have a superior, if not a numerous, body of aspirants for one of the noblest callings to which the heart and head can be devoted.

When the medical department is organized it should be independent of the income derived from student fees, so that there may not be the slightest temptation to bestow the diploma on an unworthy candidate; or rather let me say, so that the Johns Hopkins diploma will be worth its face in the currency in the world.

How prominent a part the question of the improvement of medical education occupied in Mr. Gilman's mind is evidenced in a great many ways. It was attested in concrete form from the very beginning of the University's work in the establishment among the undergraduate courses of a course explicitly preliminary to the study of medicine. And as early as 1878, when the University had been in operation only two years, President Gilman made a special report to the Trustees on the subject of medical education. Familiar as we are with the extraordinary absence of proper standards in the common run of the almost innumerable medical schools of the country, it is almost startling to come across

such a statement as the following, which Mr. Gilman makes in his report to the Trustees, December 2, 1878, applying as it does not only to the worst or the mediocre but also to the best of the medical schools of that time:

So far as I am aware there is but one medical school in this country which requires any preliminary examination for entrance to its courses. This school requires a knowledge of easy Latin Prose, and elementary Natural Philosophy. Another school requires the same attainments to be exhibited before the candidates present themselves for examination in their medical studies. It is possible that like exactions may be made elsewhere, but with these partial exceptions I do not know of any medical school in the country which requires in the final or intermediate examinations any knowledge of French or German, or any other language, or any scientific training except that which is acquired in the professional school.

The consequence is that the medical schools are receiving young men who could not enter the lowest class of a respectable college, and young men who have had no preliminary training in scientific principles, and who have done no work in scientific laboratories, are admitted to courses which require the most practised eyes, the most skilful hands, and the best disciplined brains.

To remedy the discreditable condition not only directly involved in this state of things but inevitably implied by it, Mr. Gilman in this report lays down as preliminary necessities, first, the adoption of a proper standard of admission to medical colleges, and secondly, the establishment of what had already been begun in Baltimore, a course of study expressly preliminary to medicine. On this second head he says:

Hitherto, the advocates of good fundamental education have advised young men to follow the ordinary college course and graduate as Bachelors of Arts before beginning medical studies. This was the natural advice when and

where there was but one college curriculum, and even now, publicly and privately, many of the advocates of improved medical education insist upon it that the B.A. degree should be recommended as the best introduction to a medical course. But in our country, at the present time, the degree of B.A. is by itself no more of a certificate than the degree of M.D. To ascertain its value, we must go behind the diploma, and ask by whom and for what this honor was conferred. There are worthless academic institutions as well as medical schools, and the sooner all scholars indicate the sources from which their diplomas are derived, the sooner will good diplomas be restored to their right offices, and poor diplomas be rendered worthless.

I am prepared to go even further, and to claim that the medical colleges should not only insist upon antecedent studies, but should insist upon it that these studies include a very large amount of attention to the natural sciences, and to the modern languages, and to psychology and ethics.

It is not the B.A. diploma which the medical colleges should exact, for this in the very best of our colleges may not indicate any training in the observation of nature whatsoever, and in fact commonly indicates the predominance of Greek, Latin and Mathematics, over all other studies. It is not the B.A. diploma which should be exacted, — but rather evidence that the aspirant for a medical education has already made a good beginning in the study of nature, with varied enough range of studies to cultivate all his faculties, and that he is familiar with the phenomena which Chemistry and Physics reveal, and their bearing upon Life, in the vegetable and animal kingdoms. Such opportunities are now abundant in Cambridge, New Haven, Ithaca, and many other places — though I know of only two institutions in this country, the Sheffield Scientific School and the Johns Hopkins University, which offer and recommend definite courses of study in Biology as the proper introduction to the work of the medical college.

After describing and discussing in detail the course of instruction desirable as a preparation for the study of medi-

cine, Mr. Gilman says a word as to the title which should indicate the completion of such a course:

Some have thought it might be desirable to mark the termination of this course by giving to successful students the degree of Bachelor of Medicine, — but the objection is strongly urged that the public may thus be misled. The casual observer may suppose that a medical training has been given in this course, whereas it is scientific and literary, not medical, — and may as such be commended to those who would become naturalists, as well as to physicians. This argument seems conclusive. Perhaps the degree of Bachelor of Science will be thought appropriate. One gentleman has playfully suggested that if we were not fettered by traditional initials, the degree of F.S.M., "fit to study medicine," would tell the tale exactly.

It must have been with a peculiar satisfaction that President Gilman in his annual report for 1894, written a few months after the Medical School was opened, was able to set down as one of its characteristic features the following:

Those only are admitted to this medical school, as candidates for the degree of Doctor of Medicine, who have pursued a course of liberal education in some college of repute, or who give evidence by examination that they have made corresponding advancement in knowledge. No other institution in the land has placed so high a standard for the reception of students in medicine as this. But for admission to our medical school, it is not enough to have had what is commonly called a liberal education; every student entering himself as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Medicine must give evidence in advance that he has acquired a reading knowledge of French and German, and that he has pursued the study of physics, chemistry, and biology, each through a course of one year's instruction which included laboratory work.

That the course was to extend through four years as against the prevailing two-year or three-year system, marked

in itself a sharp advance; to require further a college degree or its equivalent as a necessary condition for entrance was to put on the screw pretty tight; and it certainly evidenced a very strong conviction, and the courage of it, to add to these things the unconditional demand that the collegiate course shall have included an adequate preparation in the physical sciences and the two leading modern languages.

Mr. Gilman left among his papers a summary account of the origins of the Medical School and of the history of its organization, which seems worth quoting in full:

Nothing could be done toward the organization of the Medical School until the Hospital approached completion and the University was ready to make the appointment of professors in the medical faculty. In the Administration Building of the Hospital, a certain number of rooms were provided to be occupied, it was then thought, by the more advanced students, perhaps by graduates of the Johns Hopkins Medical School. On the other side, arrangements were made in the University for the promotion of such studies as underlie the study of Medicine, that is to say, in Physics, Chemistry and Biology, together with French and German and other studies pertaining to a liberal education. To promote these ends special stress was laid upon the subject of Biology, which, under the influence of Huxley, was then the dominant word in Natural History. A former pupil of his, Dr. H. Newell Martin, was invited to come and take charge of the Biological Laboratory, the first institution of its kind established in the country. Huxley said of this former pupil, when consulted by me as to his possible invitation to Baltimore, "You could not possibly have a better man." Dr. Martin entered upon the work in 1876 with enthusiasm, intelligence and vigor. He had been well prepared in Cambridge and in London to devise and maintain, under the new conditions of natural science, a laboratory for the study of living things, and, at an early day, Professor William K. Brooks was associated with him in the new departure, one giving chief attention to Physiology and the other to Morphology. These two men made a very strong combination

and their instructions attracted a great many students, not a few of whom have risen to distinguished positions. Without disparaging others, I venture to name Professor William H. Howell of the Johns Hopkins University, Professor E. B. Wilson of Columbia University, Professor H. H. Donaldson, once of Chicago and now of the Wistar Institute in Philadelphia, Professor Morgan of Columbia University, Professor S. F. Clark of Williams College, Massachusetts, Professor William T. Sedgwick of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Professor Mitsukuri of the University of Tokyo.

It was noteworthy that very few persons selected this course, most wisely arranged as preparatory to future medical studies. It had been so customary throughout the country to admit young men to medical schools without previous examination, or with very slight exactions in the rudiments of an English education, that scientific training antecedent to medical studies was almost thought to be preposterous. Certain it is that very few persons followed this course with reference to the study of Medicine, although, as already intimated, many were engaged in the study of natural science and acquired distinction in their future pursuits.

It was a great disappointment to the University authorities that the building of the Hospital was so long delayed. When it was finally completed, circumstances too familiar to need repetition in this place had deprived the University of a large part of its income, and the time was not ripe for the beginning of the Medical School on which so many hopes and prophecies had been concentrated.

Light did not dawn until Miss Mary E. Garrett came to the relief of the situation and with other ladies formed a committee asking for contributions to the establishment of a Medical School provided that women should be admitted to its privileges. This subscription amounted to somewhat less than \$100,000, and when it was apparent that not less than \$500,000 would be requisite, she generously added a sum sufficient to make up this amount with certain funds which the Trustees controlled. With this half million in hand it was decided to open the School, which was done in the fall of 1893.

Meanwhile, the President of the University had brought

together at frequent intervals the members of the staff most interested in the study of medicine, and the records of that body show that a great deal of attention was given to the subject by Professors Remsen, Martin and Welch, with whom for a long time Dr. Billings was associated. The original appointment of a professor in the Medical School was that of Dr. Welch, who was called to the chair of Pathology in 1884 and proceeded at once to organize laboratory work in that department of science. I have given the story of his appointment in these words: ¹

"As the construction of the Johns Hopkins Hospital approaches completion, the university is devoting much thought to the organization of its Faculty of Medicine. A study of the problem, consultation with eminent physicians at home and abroad, and an examination of other institutions, led long ago to the conclusion that a Professorship of Pathology should be among the earliest to be instituted. Chemistry and Biology, including morphology, embryology, and physiology, were already taught in the philosophical faculty. Pathology and Therapeutics were the scientific chairs which seemed to be next called for, as their instruction would be likely to require experimental laboratories, distinct from the Hospital and from the other university working rooms. After much inquiry, at home and abroad, the Trustees made choice of Dr. William H. Welch, of New York, to be Professor of Pathology. He is a graduate of Yale College, and of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, who pursued his studies abroad, and afterwards became Professor in the Bellevue Hospital Medical College of New York. In forming their opinion of his qualifications for this responsible post, the Trustees had the benefit of many counsellors in the medical profession, among whom it may be proper to name Professor Cohnheim of Leipsic, with whom Dr. Welch had been a student. Dr. Welch will spend a considerable portion, if not all, of the next year, in Europe, where he will make such purchases and pursue such inquiries as will enable him to be most useful when he returns to Baltimore. As an Associate in this department, Dr. Welch recommended, and the Trustees concurred in, the appointment of Dr. William T. Councilman, of Baltimore, who has been for several years connected with our biological laboratory, as a student, an investigator, and a lecturer."

When the time drew near for the opening of the Hospital, the authorities of the two institutions united in the appointment of Dr. Osler to be chief physician in the Hospital, with the title of Professor of Medicine in the University; Dr.

¹ Ninth Annual Report of the President (1884), pp. 10, 11.

Halsted to be chief surgeon with the title of Professor of Surgery in the University; Dr. Kelly to the position of Gynecologist with a corresponding title in the University.

This group of four professors — Welch, Osler, Halsted and Kelly — who initiated the work of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, and with it an important chapter in the history of American medicine, is commemorated in the striking painting made by Sargent at the instance of Miss Garrett and presented by her to the University.

At the memorial meeting of Johns Hopkins Alumni in McCoy Hall on November 20, 1908, Professor Howell, Dean of the Medical Faculty, thus characterized the nature of Mr. Gilman's contribution to the advancement of medical education:

With the prevision characteristic of a great leader, he seems to have selected medical education as one of the great opportunities which the new university might utilize to do a needed service to the country at large. For reasons over which he certainly had no control the realization of his plans was deferred for some seventeen years. It was not until 1893 that the medical school, as we now know it, was founded. It was and is a graduate school in the sense that it accepts as students only those who are college graduates. At the time of its foundation its requirements for entrance seemed almost absurdly high. It was supposed that only a few students each year would be willing to meet these requirements, considering that in the other leading schools the conditions for entrance were so much less difficult; and the idea that our standards would ever be adopted generally by other schools was scarcely reckoned among the probabilities. Yet, to-day, this school has 300 students upon its rolls, and for many years past there has been a steady approximation on the part of other good medical schools toward the standards established here. Many agencies have undoubtedly contributed to the great improvement in medical education which has taken place in this country during the last generation — volunteer organizations among high-

minded physicians, the effective action of our State Boards, etc., — but I believe it will be admitted that the actual example held before the eyes of the medical public, in the successful experiment carried out here under Mr. Gilman's direction, has been the most potent influence of all in strengthening the weak faith of those who doubted the feasibility of such a reform.

Mr. Gilman's devotion to the affairs of the medical school in its early history was unfailing. He gave to it on the administrative side an ideal organization which has been the envy of other schools, and which will eventually, I believe, be generally adopted. The central feature of this organization is that it places all power in the hands of a small but representative body, composed of the heads of departments, the president, and the superintendent of the hospital. Over the deliberations of this body he presided constantly during his incumbency, and it is needless, for those who knew him, to add that he was a most admirable presiding officer. Courteous, considerate, and informal, he invited a free expression of opinion from all, but he knew well the art of controlling gently but firmly all tendencies to useless and diffuse discussion. The routine business was dispatched with promptness, while matters of importance from the standpoint of policy or precedent were treated with care and circumspection. A more harmonious and effective board it would be hard to imagine, and, indeed, how could it have been otherwise with a man like Gilman as presiding officer and a man like Welch as dean and secretary? Our foundations were well laid, and I am sure that the great success of the school, acknowledged everywhere, was a source of the deepest gratification to Mr. Gilman. It may be fairly claimed that it constituted his second great contribution to the educational development of this country. I hope that the future historian of medical education in the United States will not make the mistake of supposing, because Mr. Gilman was not a member of the medical profession, that therefore his connection with this medical school was in any sense perfunctory. On the contrary, it was real, it was vital, and it was continuously maintained. And through it all those who were associated with him must have been greatly

impressed by the fact that in this, as in the other great enterprises of which he formed a part, there was no thought of self. He was working for a great purpose, the nobility and importance of which were constantly present to his own mind and were by him transmitted to his associates and colleagues.

At the general University meeting held in honor of Mr. Gilman, November 8, 1908, Professor Welch said in his address:

Early in the history of the University Mr. Gilman constituted the nucleus of a medical faculty by bringing together for deliberation upon certain questions relating to the contemplated medical school Professor, now President, Remsen, Professor Martin, and Dr. Billings, and in 1884 I was summoned to join in these deliberations. It was realized from the start that there was an opportunity for the University to achieve for higher medical education a work quite comparable in character to that which it was accomplishing for university education in general. It was this ideal which animated Mr. Gilman in all his efforts in behalf of the medical school. The attainment of this ideal of a medical school upon a true university basis, under the administration and largely through the efforts of Mr. Gilman, is of historic importance, and will be remembered as one of his greatest achievements in the cause of higher education.

When, by the generous provision of a special endowment, it was possible to open the medical school in 1893, Mr. Gilman brought to us the same qualities of leadership which had served the University so well since its foundation, the same wisdom in the selection of the staff, the same sagacity in counsel, the same power of organization, the same inspiring optimism, the same high ideals of attainment. He established with the heads of the various departments those close personal and sympathetic relations which were always an encouragement and stimulus to the best work. He rejoiced exceedingly in any good work or any distinction of any member of the staff, and half the pleasure of any such success was to share it with our president.

That such testimony to the importance of the result achieved by the establishment of the Johns Hopkins Medical School is not to be ascribed to the partiality of men who were participants in the work it is hardly necessary to maintain, for the fact is universally acknowledged; but were there any need, one might refer with no little satisfaction to the tribute paid to this achievement by President Eliot when, in his address at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Johns Hopkins, he referred to "the prodigious advancement of medical teaching which has resulted from the labors of the Johns Hopkins faculty of medicine," an achievement which he declared must "be counted as one of superb beneficence."

Early in 1889 a new and unexpected responsibility was placed on Mr. Gilman's shoulders. While the Johns Hopkins Hospital was required by the terms of the founder's will to form part of the resources of the Medical School of the University, it was an entirely independent institution, with a distinct Board of Trustees. Its opening was deferred for many years after the death of Johns Hopkins and after the opening of the University, owing to the great expense necessarily involved in the construction of the buildings, which, by the terms of the will, had to be provided out of the revenue, the capital remaining unimpaired. The plans of the Trustees of the Hospital contemplated an institution so extensive, and so perfect in its appointments, that the time intervening under these conditions between the announcement of the bequest and the actual opening of the Hospital naturally seemed very long to all who were nearly concerned, and still longer to the outside public. When the time approached for a possible opening of the Hospital, the feeling therefore prevailed that there should be no delay beyond what was absolutely necessitated by the building

operations. It turned out, therefore, that, in spite of the long period of preparation, the task of setting the administrative and professional machinery of the Hospital into motion seems to have confronted the Trustees almost as though it were a sudden call, and appalled them by its complexity. Mr. Francis T. King, the President of the Board of Trustees, who had labored with great devotion and ability in the maturing of plans and the supervision of these many years of preliminary work, found at the opening of the year 1889 that between that time and the beginning of May — the date that had been publicly set for the opening of the Hospital — a gap had to be filled in some way which had not yet been definitely thought out. A many-sided organization had to be constructed, its parts so coördinated that there would be harmony and coöperation throughout, and the whole set in motion without any of those jars and blunders that belong to a tentative or experimental stage. In this emergency Mr. King very wisely, but greatly to the surprise of Mr. Gilman, turned to the man whose organizing ability in another field, and whose unflagging energy and zeal, gave assurance that, if he put his shoulder to the wheel, the trouble would be removed. The story of Mr. King's proposition may best be told in the following letter written by Mr. Gilman at the time:

BALTIMORE, Jan. 22, 1889.

MY DEAR SISTERS:

This is a very busy world in which I live, & something unexpected often happens. The latest novelty is this, that in all probability I shall be asked to become Director of the J. H. Hospital, — without detriment to or diversion from my duties to the J. H. University. Affairs have been for some months at a standstill for want of an organising head; and for lack of a better, I am likely to be brought into the service. You will readily believe that I am particularly gratified by this token of the confidence of those who have



DANIEL COIT GILMAN
At the Age of Fifty-nine

seen me at work these twelve years past. The position at the Hospital is one of great responsibility. It involves setting in motion the wheels of a very complex machine. It will require wisdom, caution, enterprise, decision, prolonged attention to a multitude of details. But the Trustees are most co-operative, the building is superb, the plans thus far formed are excellent, and the opportunity is therefore most inviting. I do not expect to receive any financial recompense, in addition to my present salary, — but a part of that will come from the Hospital, — and thus the Univ. chest will be relieved. Moreover, in the view of our future medical school, it is most desirable that Univ. and Hospital should act unitedly, and I hope that this new arrangement will promote the double interests. You would be surprised I think to see with what readiness and resolution I enter upon a year of difficulties and perplexities, in a new domain; but if I can succeed in wisely administering the first year of the Hospital, perhaps it will be pleasant to remember that I did. What is life for?

I only meant to state the fact, — but as I have been led to state the motives, you may send this to the New Yorkers, if you like —

Your loving D. C. G.

DEAR SISTERS — Daniel has gone off to a stag dinner, leaving me to close this note for him. Just before he got off, a note came from Mr. Francis King saying that at a meeting of the Hospital board a resolution appointing him Director had passed by a unanimous vote. I should think so! Aren't they lucky to get such intelligence and enthusiasm by just asking!

The postscript is of course by Mrs. Gilman; and it will not be out of place in connection with it to set down here a few lines which she has recently written concerning this episode in Mr. Gilman's life:

Mr. Gilman agreed to accept the office of Director on the condition that he should have full authority and be

accountable only to the Board. For five or six months he had an office at the University and an office at the Hospital, and spent half a day at each place. The University was in deep water financially at this time, and Mr. Gilman stipulated that during his time of service at the Hospital, the Hospital should pay half his salary in order to relieve the University. He worked with the greatest enthusiasm and delight, held many consultations and made several journeys. One of these was to the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York to study its system of housekeeping. He made all the appointments for the heads of departments, and on the appointed day the Hospital was opened in complete working order.

By the time the work was accomplished Mr. Gilman was on the point of breaking down; he suffered from neuralgia and sleeplessness for the only time in his life and the first gray hairs appeared. He was given a year's leave of absence and in the autumn of 1889 went abroad for a year, to the Orient, returning in July, 1890.

The address of Dr. Hurd, Superintendent of the Hospital, at the memorial meeting in the University, was not only a heartfelt tribute to Mr. Gilman, but gives such a vivid picture of the nature and spirit of his work at the Hospital that it is well worth reproducing in full:

I desire to speak briefly in behalf of the Board of Trustees of the Johns Hopkins Hospital in regard to President Gilman's connection with that institution. Although the connection seemed fortuitous and almost accidental, it was fraught with benefits to the Hospital and prepared the way for intimate relations with the Medical School when it was later established. When in the winter of 1888-9 the Hospital, after twelve years of preparation, was approaching completion, there was on the part of the Trustees much uncertainty as to the best method of organizing the work and putting the institution into active operation. The President of the Board of Trustees, the late Francis T. King, who had

been selected by Johns Hopkins to supervise the erection of the Hospital, and who had been wisely and sagaciously interested in the project, found himself unequal to the task of opening it for patients by reason of ill-health and advancing years. It was felt by all that the undertaking was of no ordinary proportions and called for the assistance of a skilled and wise organizer. One night as Mr. King lay sleepless and perplexed over the question of a proper person to undertake the work, the conviction suddenly came to him that President Gilman must do it. Later in my acquaintance, Mr. King often spoke of the relief which he felt when, shortly after, at his suggestion, the Trustees in January, 1889, formally appointed Mr. Gilman Director of the Hospital, and committed to him the task of providing the Hospital with "a system," as had been expressed in the report of one of the committees — "a system which should serve as a guide to other institutions." He entered upon his new duties immediately with his usual ardor and energy. He familiarized himself with the literature of the subject and corresponded with experts both at home and abroad. He visited hospitals and large hotels in other cities to see their methods and details of management, and studied their kitchens, laundries, and linen-rooms. He inspected even such minor matters as table linen and napkins. Out of all this personal work he evolved a system of organization which has served excellently well ever since. I saw a very suggestive diagram a few days ago in which he portrayed visually, so that every one might clearly understand, the relations of trustees, chief executive officer, heads of departments, and employees. He assisted in the selection of medical officers; he saw personally and selected and recommended for appointment all subordinate officers and defined their duties and responsibilities; he familiarized himself with the proper spheres of the housekeeper, the purveyor and the superintendent of nurses, and "set their bounds," and thus secured harmony and co-operation. He thus spent several very active months until the whole machinery of the establishment was put in motion upon the opening day in May, 1889 — and a well-ordered and inspiring day it was! He remained thereafter in daily attendance for many weeks

and gave close attention to every detail of administration. I have in my possession several notices of routine appointments written for the bulletin board in his own clear and legible hand. He came often to the Hospital before breakfast, and on occasion spent a night there, and this, too, when burdened with University duties. To him we owe a system of internal administration with many novel features, which, as has been mentioned in the minute just read, have continued unchanged until now. I need not repeat what has been already so clearly stated.

His kindness of heart and keen sympathy with the poor and friendless led him to modify many stringent regulations then generally in force in other hospitals as to Sunday visiting. Feeling that the laboring man could ill afford to lose time from his labor during the week day to visit a member of his family sick in the hospital, he arranged from the first for a visiting hour on Sunday. Likewise, impressed with his observation that Sunday was a long and lonely day for people far from home, he arranged that the mail should always be sent after on that day, that the sick might be cheered by news from home.

He was interested in employees of every grade and left an impress of kindness, consideration, and courtesy upon all branches of Hospital service. He selected very wisely the first principal of the Training School for Nurses and the first head nurses. He was ever after much interested in the Training School and often visited it, and on several occasions made addresses to the pupil nurses. To his suggestion the Johns Hopkins Hospital owes the possession of the reproduction of Thorwaldsen's statue of Christ, the gift of Mr. Spence, of Baltimore, which adorns our rotunda and suggests rest and healing to sick and suffering. He suggested a system of publications on the part of the Hospital and watched the successive issues of the Bulletin and Reports with kindly critical interest. He kept himself constantly in touch with the work of the institution, and, if in hours of discouragement I sought his advice, he was ever hopeful and optimistic. "Look at the results," he would say, "they are grand."

He remained on terms of intimate friendship with all of

his former associates at the Hospital, and his influence was always given to educational and administrative betterment. He was never a carping critic, but rather a devoted, interested friend. When his brief connection with the Hospital was at an end, he left behind him traditions of system and order, of a kindly spirit and true courtesy in his relations with officers, nurses, patients, and employees, of an appreciation of honest, faithful work, and of high faith in the future usefulness of the institution. He was gifted with imagination to conceive the possibilities of its future and a practical sense which had enabled him to realize his dreams. Above all he left with the Hospital an abiding spirit of enthusiasm for scientific study, of loyalty to the higher aims of medicine, and of cordial co-operation in every department of service.

He was the steadfast friend and trusted adviser of each and all; and we loved and honored him. No better illustration could be given of his enduring personality, versatility, and practical judgment than his successful work at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. It will live for many years.

In connection with the opening of the Hospital an incident occurred that led to the writing of a document by Mr. Gilman which has never seen the light and which exhibits a quality of energy, decision, and even combativeness not usually manifest in his writings. His possession of this quality, however, as a latent resource, to be used on the rare occasions when he felt it to be imperatively necessary, might easily be inferred by those associated with him. A proposal had been made that the Hospital should begin the work of medical instruction, and at a meeting of the Hospital Board some action had been taken looking to the carrying out of this proposal. This had doubtless been done without any feeling on the part of the Board that it entailed any remote or permanent consequences; but in the eyes of Mr. Gilman it involved a grave peril for the entire future of the great scheme of medical education which he had had in mind from the beginning. It was natural enough that the significance

of a tentative beginning of medical instruction under the auspices of the Hospital, as bearing on the future of the Medical School, did not present itself to the eyes of any one else as it did to those of a man to whom both the ideals of the scheme and the means by which it was to be carried out had been the subject of prolonged and accurate thought for years; and the openness of mind of the Trustees of the Hospital seems sufficiently attested by the fact that, after Mr. Gilman's warning and protest, nothing further was heard of the project. The document to which reference has been made was in the shape of a memorandum designed for the instruction of the Trustees of the Hospital, the greater part of which is reproduced below. It is almost a pity to leave out the omitted portions, precisely because they show a certain acerbity of which few specimens exist from Mr. Gilman's pen; but, as they related to matters that can hardly have been the result of anything but a temporary misunderstanding, it does not seem best to preserve them:

The action of the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins Hospital on Tuesday last has a most important bearing upon the work of the Johns Hopkins University and its proposed plans. As my arrangements are already made for a prolonged absence from home, I take the liberty of leaving with you this note, in order that my attitude and opinions as President of the University may be distinctly understood, and if need be may be communicated to the public, among whom there are many persons deeply interested in our decisions; professors, students, parents, benefactors, trustees of other institutions, the professors of medicine and surgery, and the promoters of superior education in this and distant lands. I am confident that the Trustees of the Hospital will see reason to reconsider their action when all the facts are laid before them.

Johns Hopkins, in his mandatory letter, said: "Bear constantly in mind that it is my wish and purpose that the Hospital shall ultimately form a part of the Medical School of

that University for which I have made ample provision by my Will."

Clearer language could hardly be employed to show that he expected the Medical School to belong to the University, and that the Hospital when completed was to afford the requisite facilities for observing the treatment of injuries and disease. Influenced by these instructions, the Hospital authorities have built a structure far more costly than was needed as a Home for the sick — because it was to be the seat of medical education; and likewise when I was called into the service of the University it was with the understanding that medical instruction was to be initiated at an early day. The expectation was then held out, and has constantly been renewed, that the University was to organize (as soon as the Hospital was ready for observation) an advanced course of medical instruction.

Accordingly for fifteen years the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University have been engaged in work preparatory to the formation of a Medical School. The nucleus of a faculty of medicine was constituted in 1883, by a vote of the University Trustees; and a joint Standing Committee has been constituted by the Trustees of the Hospital and the Trustees of the University to promote the co-operation of the two foundations, and has held repeated meetings. The Hospital authorities on their part have lately assumed with great liberality a large amount of expenditure hitherto borne by the University, pertaining to pathology, and you, in the name of the Trustees, asked my co-operation in organizing the Hospital. This service I was glad to render without any personal compensation, largely for the purpose of bringing the two institutions into close accord, and of showing to the public that they were to be, as the founder directed, in the most co-operative relations. On the other hand the University has maintained for 14 years costly laboratories and Chairs of instruction in sciences related to medicine. The harmonious relations between the two foundations have never been interrupted, and they never should be.

The experience of this entire country has shown that a faculty or school of medicine should not be merely in the hands of the Professors, but should be in close and intimate

relations with the other chairs or faculties of a University. On this point no one has spoken more clearly than the Pathologist of the Hospital, Dr. Welch.

It is difficult to foretell what complications will arise unless the action of the Hospital is re-considered. The public, which for fifteen years has looked forward to the beginning of our medical course as to an epoch in medical education, will unquestionably hold us all to a strict accountability in this matter.

Permit me to state in a sentence the principle which should govern both boards of Trustees. All that belongs to medical instruction should be under the control of the University; all that belongs to the care of the sick and suffering, and all that concerns admission to clinical opportunities, or to residence within the walls of the Hospital, belongs to the Hospital. A joint Committee can easily adjust all questionable points if the fundamental principle is agreed upon.

If I understand the situation, it is this: The Hospital has incurred large expense in the construction of its buildings, and in the engagement of its distinguished physicians and surgeons, and in the establishment of its laboratories, in order that medical instruction of an advanced character may here be given. That instruction can now be given to graduate students. It would be a misfortune if this purpose were not carried out quickly, wisely and harmoniously. The only question is, how can this best be done; by the University Board of Trustees, organized for the purpose of promoting advanced education, and now engaged in the direction of a learned and able body of men, or by the Hospital Trustees, organized for the treatment of the sick and suffering.

May I conclude by quoting again the words which are so familiar to you, if they did not indeed proceed from your suggestion, words which were accepted by the founder of both trusts.

"Bear constantly in mind that it is my wish and purpose that the Hospital shall ultimately form a part of the medical school of that University for which I have made ample provisions by my will." The recent action of the Hospital Trustees begins with a cordial expression of desire to co-

operate with the Johns Hopkins University in promoting medical education. Do not let us begin by divergence or by confusing the functions of the two corporations.

During the long period covering his presidency of Johns Hopkins University and his connection with the Carnegie Institution a multitude of other activities engaged Mr. Gilman's interest and enlisted his active labors. His work in the domain of organized charity and in the carrying on of such systematic philanthropies as those of the Slater Board and of the Peabody Education Board forms what ought to be looked upon as a distinct chapter of his life, running on alongside the main body. His share in the shaping of the work of these boards and especially of the Slater Board was of great importance, but cannot be explicitly traced; his activities in the general field of organized charity will be spoken of at some length further on. Of the activities of a more miscellaneous character hardly more than a mention can be made. Of one of these things, not disconnected with the University work itself but in reality a distinct performance — namely, the final organization of the Johns Hopkins Hospital — an account has already been given; a rapid survey of the others must suffice. In 1879 he was made President of the American Social Science Association; in 1882 he became one of the original Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen, in the formation of whose plans he took a leading part, of which in 1893 he became President (succeeding ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes), an office that he continued to hold until his death; in 1893 he was elected a Trustee of the Peabody Education Fund, of which he afterwards became Vice-President; he was President of the American Oriental Society from 1893 until 1906, and President of the National

relations with the other chairs of the Hospital. On this point no one has spoken more intelligently than the pathologist of the Hospital, Dr. Watson.

It is difficult to foretell what will be the action of the Hospital in the future, which for fifteen years has looked upon the Hospital of our medical course as to a certain extent. It will unquestionably hold us in check in this matter.

Permit me to state in a sentence that the Hospital govern both boards of Trustees and the Hospital. Instruction should be under the Hospital, all that belongs to the care of the Hospital that concerns admission of patients, and the residence within the walls of the Hospital. A joint Committee should be appointed to point out the fundamental principles of the Hospital.

If I understand the situation correctly, the Hospital incurred large expenses in the engagement of the surgeons, and in the order that medical students may here be given. The Hospital graduate students. The Hospital pose were not carried out. The only question is the University Board of Trustees. The Hospital promoting advancement in the direction of a form of Hospital Trustees, or suffering.

May I conclude by saying that so familiar to the Hospital suggestion, which was made to both trusts.

"Bear in mind that the city of Baltimore was governed, that the Hospital was one of the members of the medical school of the city. Among the most important provisions of the Hospital was the creation of a small and

in 1891, the Baltimore Society, and in 1892, the Baltimore Society, named as one of the first of its establishment upon its establishment. The importance of the Baltimore Society to him was a member of the Baltimore Society, and report upon the Baltimore Society of Venezuela, and only to help every Baltimore Society to seize upon occasions. The Baltimore Society is constant throughout his life. The Baltimore Society he needed no other Baltimore Society. The Baltimore Society his lifelong habit and indeed an additional motive. The Baltimore Society associate the Johns Hopkins Baltimore Society. The Baltimore Society people of Baltimore with the Baltimore Society. In 1881, at a Baltimore Society Science Association in Baltimore, the work of the London Charity Baltimore Society. On his return to Baltimore he Baltimore Society at his office, the result Baltimore Society of the Charity Organization Baltimore Society. The Baltimore Society the earliest in America and one Baltimore Society. The Baltimore Society an important influence on Baltimore Society. The Baltimore Society charity throughout the country. The Baltimore Society of this association was highly Baltimore Society. The Baltimore Society President from 1891 until 1901. The Baltimore Society agitation, it was decided to Baltimore Society. The Baltimore Society the city of Baltimore to replace Baltimore Society. The Baltimore Society which the city was governed, Baltimore Society. The Baltimore Society one of the members of the medical school of the city. Among the most important provisions of the Hospital was the creation of a small and

of Board, and of this board Mr. Gilman was one of the original members, serving as such from 1872 to 1878. He also served for a number of years as trustee of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore and the Hooch Pratt Free Library, and he took an active part in the organization of the Municipal Art Society. The great number of isolated bits of activity in which he was engaged, special mention may be made of two, — the saving of the Mercantile Library when it was about to be abandoned after the opening of the Pratt Free Library, because this was a case in which prompt and energetic intervention, the absence of which is so often deplored when it is too late, preserved to Baltimore one of those institutions which, though minor, do so much to maintain an atmosphere of culture and refinement; and his service as organizer and head of the Bureau of Awards at the Atlanta Exposition, not because of any extraordinary value of the work, but because it illustrates in an unaccustomed field that same instinct for organization and achievement that was so characteristic of his life-work throughout.

Of his service as a member of the Venezuela Boundary Commission, Mr. Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court has written as follows:

I was associated with Dr. Gilman on the Venezuelan Commission appointed by President Cleveland to ascertain and report the true line of boundary between Venezuela and the British Possessions. In the prosecution of its work the range and accuracy of his knowledge were soon manifest. I cannot say that this was to me an entirely new revelation, for, outside of his general reputation, I had had personal dealings with him which disclosed both.

One of the first lines of investigation was in respect to maps and charts as well as the physical geography of the territory in dispute. Here most of us were quite ignorant, but he was familiar. Through his assistance a multitude

of maps and charts, some almost contemporaneous with the first settlement in the northern part of South America, were put before us. Obviously they were in many respects, in the light of present knowledge, inaccurate, many grossly so. Some had been made from mere imagination and guess work, some from rumor, while others had been prepared from information obtained from travelers, believed to be truthful, and whose reports had been carefully compared with previous information. Places of settlement were noted and other facts stated tending to throw light on the question and extent of occupation and control. In the comparison of these maps and charts and in striving to give just weight to all appearing thereon we relied largely on Dr. Gilman's familiarity with cartography, his knowledge of the reliability of the different map makers, as well as of the physical geography of the territory in dispute. Much of the information we collected was afterwards used by the two nations in the arbitration proceedings between them.

A single illustration is sufficient. It was claimed by Venezuela that while it was a Spanish province and during the 18th century there were many Spanish Catholic Missions to the Indians established in the territory east and south of the Orinoco. Among the evidences of the number, location and size of these Missions were three sketch maps, prepared by monks at different times about the year 1750, and which had been forwarded and preserved in the archives of their fraternities across the waters. While their general geography was very inaccurate, yet on each were located various Missions with a statement of the number of missionaries and their Spanish assistants, of the Indians gathered about them and the size of their herds of cattle. And in respect to each was stated the number of leagues distant from Santo Thomé, the first Spanish settlement on the Orinoco. So significant was this evidence, taken in connection with other testimony, that on the argument the counsel for Great Britain freely declared that they could make no claim to the large area thus shown to have been occupied by the Missions.

Another matter is worth mentioning. In selecting the members of the Commission (a Commission whose conclu-

sions could have no binding legal force upon either of the disputing nations, nor indeed upon this country) President Cleveland aimed to secure not merely gentlemen of local reputation but some at least well known in European circles. Dr. Gilman and Dr. White especially answered this purpose. Each was well known across the waters as a gentleman of highest character and most thorough scholarship. In consequence, both the disputing nations were anxious that the report of the Commission should not antagonize their respective claims, and each promptly offered to place before it all the information in its possession and to render all possible assistance. Before the Commission had finished its investigation, its work was suspended by an arrangement between the disputing nations for arbitration.

Further than this, the first Hague Conference, which met after our Commission had ceased its work, recommended as one of the means of securing peace between nations that in case of a dispute involving matters of fact a Commission be first appointed to ascertain and report the truth. It was believed that when the truth was known the nations would be apt to settle.

His part in the work of Baltimore's New Charter Commission is thus characterized by one of his colleagues, Mr. George R. Gaither:

The suggestions and advice of Dr. Gilman were most valuable in the preparation of the entire Charter and in outlining its scope. His services were especially valuable in preparing the provisions regarding the Department of Education and the Department of Charities and Corrections. His long experience in educational matters naturally made his views on the subject of education practically a controlling influence with his fellow members on the Commission, whilst his tact and judgment assisted most materially in reconciling the conflicting views as to City Charities, which naturally exist in a community like ours, comprising so many varying religious and philanthropic institutions. Whilst always firm in his adherence to the essential principles which should con-

stitute a progressive City government, he was ever ready to agree to any modifications which were proposed as to details. As a member of the New Charter Commission, I shall always remember with great pleasure the privilege of this association with Dr. Gilman. His faithful attendance at our meetings, his unfailing courtesy, his splendid ability and varied experience were deeply appreciated by his fellow members of the New Charter Commission.

The "faithful attendance" mentioned in the last sentence, as well as the general helpfulness indicated in what precedes, was characteristic. No man better illustrated the saying that it is the busiest who has the most time. In all the multitude of affairs with which he was connected, similar reports of the nature of his activity would be forthcoming upon inquiry. In the case of the National Civil Service Reform League his presidency was understood to involve no administrative care or routine labor, but he showed in his annual addresses the depth of the interest which he took in the promotion of the cause.

Throughout his life the making of addresses and the writing of essays and reviews, chiefly upon educational and social subjects, occupied a considerable part of his attention. The manuscript list of his "Speeches and Articles," with entries for nearly every year from 1853 to 1907, forms quite a little volume. Special mention should be made of his interest in the establishment of the *Nation*, to which, in its early years, he was a frequent contributor upon educational subjects. Some of the most important of his addresses on university questions were collected in a volume¹ and published in 1898. But his addresses before various bodies, and his articles in periodicals, covered a much wider range. Besides writings of this character he wrote and edited four books, three of which were connected with his in-

¹ University Problems. The Century Co.: New York,

terest in the history and workings of American political institutions, while the fourth was the biography of a great scientist whose friendship, and that of his wife, had meant much to him in his early years at Yale. The writing of the *Life of James D. Dana*, which was published in 1899, and of the elaborate and thoughtful introduction to a new edition of De Tocqueville's "*Democracy in America*," published in 1898, were the work of his busy leisure in the summers at North East Harbor. An earlier labor was his selection and editing of the miscellaneous writings of Francis Lieber, which appeared in 1881; and two years later appeared the life of James Monroe in the *American Statesmen* series.

In 1900 Mr. Gilman was asked to contribute a number of important articles on educational topics to the "*New International Encyclopædia*," and shortly afterwards the proposition was made to him of becoming one of the three chief editors of this work, the other two being Professor Harry Thurston Peck and Mr. Frank Moore Colby. He was assured that whatever had been already done should be undone at whatever cost, if it failed to meet with his approval, and that everything thereafter to be done would be subject to his approbation. He took a very active part in the shaping and planning of the *Encyclopædia* and in the supervision of its actual execution. One of his fellow editors (Professor Peck) gives the following account of his work upon the *Encyclopædia*:

Dr. Gilman's wide knowledge of the *personnel* of contemporary scholarship was invaluable to us in dividing the work into departments and in placing each department in charge of the right man. He seemed to have a minute acquaintance with every one who had achieved anything. He could estimate exactly the worth of a contributor, pointing out his especial merits and noting his defects, — both with admi-

rable judgment and an acute perception of what was required. The planning of an encyclopædia is, I think, the most difficult part in the construction of it. It was in this and in the suggestions which he made as to the selection of contributors that Dr. Gilman's association with this work of reference was most valuable. Yet he did not stop at that. His interest in the carrying out of a thousand and one details was very keen. All the galley proofs were sent to him, and afterward the page proofs; and his personal attention to them is attested by the many notes which he made upon the margin and by the numerous letters which he wrote regarding the different questions which continually arose.

Mr. Gilman's early realization of the importance to the community of charitable work carried on in an enlightened spirit, and his grasp of the principles that are fundamental to such work, were remarkable. His address at the opening of the State Industrial School at Middletown, Connecticut, in June, 1870, has already been referred to ¹ as giving evidence of the strong hold which at that early date the ideas of truly efficient charitable work had upon him; and in after life he never lost an opportunity of advancing the practical application of those ideas. As has been stated above, he was the prime mover in the foundation of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, and a potent influence in its work for many years. A few years after its formation, he picked out Amos G. Warner, a graduate student in the Economic Department of the Johns Hopkins, as a man specially qualified to be General Secretary of the Society. Mr. Warner proved to be a man of exceptional ability and became a leader of national reputation upon questions of charity. His book "American Charities" is still a standard text-book.

¹ Chapter II, page 89.

Mr. Gilman did all he could to connect the Johns Hopkins University with the charitable work of the community, recognizing that intelligent and scientific method in dealing with the unfortunate and the vicious is an important element in any scheme for social betterment, and that the university is one of the strongest agencies for raising the standards of the people of a community in dealing with their fellow-men. He opened the halls of the University to the use of the Charity Organization Society and other bodies devoted to social improvement, and he instituted lectures on charity work in the Department of Economics of the University. The first course of these lectures was given by Amos G. Warner, and formed the foundation of his book above mentioned; subsequent lecturers were Jeffrey R. Brackett, afterwards called to become the head of the Boston School for Training Social Workers, and John M. Glenn, who has had charge of the work of the Russell Sage Foundation since its inception. The students of the Department of Economics also became connected with the Charity Organization Society as friendly visitors and in other capacities. Their work with the Society was looked upon as practical field work in connection with their study of theory in the University, a practice which has had good results both for the University and for the students. It has produced a number of leaders in social work.

Dr. Gilman's broad spirit of charity was well shown in a reception which he gave at his house in Baltimore in 1892, to which were invited representatives of all the important charitable associations in the city. In a letter referring to this meeting, he said:

Frequently there was a general conference upon the methods of charitable work in Baltimore, and a desire was expressed that "the United Workers" of the city might oftener meet one another. It was to furnish an opportunity for mutual acquaintance that delegates from all the princi-

pal charitable associations were invited to assemble at 1300 Eutaw Place on Monday evening last. About one hundred and fifty persons (representing probably a still larger number of charitable undertakings) were present. The list of persons invited was prepared in our Central Office. It was limited only by the capacity of the parlors thus thrown open. It was a delightful sight to find those who differ widely from one another on other subjects assemble solely for the purpose of showing by their presence an interest in the relief of poverty and suffering and in the prevention of vice and crime. There was but one thought dominant in the meeting — "Good will to men!"

Mr. Gilman's membership in the Charter Commission gave him an opportunity of doing signal service in the improvement of the city's methods of dealing with charity problems. Shortly before the appointment of the Charter Commission, a special commission on the city's charities had been appointed by the mayor, and had made some very valuable and logical recommendations. Mr. Gilman quickly saw the significance of these recommendations, and succeeded in introducing into the charter the important principles upon which they were based. The consequence was a fundamental change in the system, or rather lack of system, which had previously existed. Instead of almost random contributions to charitable institutions privately managed, city appropriations to these institutions were required to be made on the basis of services actually rendered and duly certified, and proper inspection of all institutions receiving subventions from the city was provided for.

There is no need to enumerate the multiplicity of particular services in the field of charity which Mr. Gilman rendered during his residence in Baltimore, but this sketch of them may well close with an extract from a letter defending the Charity Organization Society against ignorant or prejudiced criticism, which was remarkable for its vigorous logic and for its strong feeling. Seldom perhaps has a better

answer been given to the objection, still too current, that money given to the Charity Organization Society is absorbed in the payment of administrative expenses. After setting forth in sufficient detail and in most convincing form what the work is which is really accomplished by such a society, Mr. Gilman's letter closes as follows:

My own work in the association is very slight, almost nominal; but this gives me one great advantage, — freedom to speak of those who are the workers. I can testify that our managers include some of the most intelligent, the most benevolent, and the most devoted men and women of this city. They give liberally to the treasury, — and better than gold and silver, they give constant attention to the problems of improvidence, suffering and want. The General Secretary is known as one of the most efficient and skillful charity workers in this country. Our offices are managed upon business methods. Our agents are experienced, sympathetic and judicious. Our corps of voluntary friendly visitors is a noble band of philanthropic men and women. It cannot be that such people will be wasteful, or that they will suffer the money entrusted to them to be injudiciously spent. It is economy that they wish to promote. It is waste that they try to check. In view of these facts, the question before the public is simply this, — whether labors like these, — labors that are so unselfish, so well considered, and so efficacious; labors that are in exact accordance with the methods approved by the best men of other cities; labors that save the city from vice, vagrancy, idleness, intemperance, begging, — are worth what they cost. In the name of economy, in the name of the distressed and needy, in the name of Christian Charity, I plead for a generous support of those who go as friends and counsellors among the poor, and who strive to make easier and more efficacious the charitable work of all other institutions, endowments, churches, missions, benevolent associations, city agencies and private individuals. Such is the field of the Charity Organization Society, — co-operation, not rivalry.

In the closing years of his life an opportunity came to Mr. Gilman once more to exercise an important influence on the institution of a great enterprise for human betterment; and this time what was involved related to a new departure in the domain of charity, as remarkable in its field as were the foundation of the Johns Hopkins University and of the Carnegie Institution in theirs. In reply to a request from Mr. Robert W. De Forest for advice concerning the use of a prospective \$10,000,000 endowment, he wrote as follows:

October 29, 1906.

DEAR SIR:

It would be much easier for me to talk over this great possibility than to write without consultation. If a formal paper were drawn up I might make suggestions for the enlargement or emendation of the scheme.

Assuming that the sum of ten millions or more may be devoted to what is called Sociology, the hints which I have written on the enclosed page may be suggestive if not helpful otherwise. I should esteem it a great privilege to be "of counsel" in a case so important and so promising.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) D. C. GILMAN.

ROBERT W. DEFOREST, Esq.

[Enclosure]

An institution for encouraging inquiry and publication in respect to the best methods of promoting Philanthropy, Popular Education, and Social Improvements; the study of the causes of Ignorance, Poverty, Vice and Crime; the suggestion of remedies and ameliorations for the bad conditions that are or may be prevalent; the initiation or support of promissory agencies.

It should be a unique as well as an important foundation, the purposes of which are not likely to be accomplished by the subscriptions of individuals.

It should be an independent establishment like those

founded by Peabody, Smithson, Lowell, Peter Cooper, Rockefeller, Carnegie and others.

The Trustees should not be too many and most of them should be near the center, but not all, as it is important to give a national character to the foundation.

There should be a paid Secretary or Executive officer, of the highest qualities, as may be required.

A central office and library for the accumulation of printed and manuscript information, — akin to the well equipped index-bureau of the General Education Board, with clerks qualified to answer inquiries.

Annual or occasional grants to societies and institutions on certain prescribed conditions.

A system of publications by which large works and small can be printed and distributed.

Courses of lectures and single addresses from experts to be given in different cities.

A provision for specific investigations to be made by qualified Commissions.

In the following year Mrs. Sage made the great gift upon which the Russell Sage Foundation was established, and its work was started along lines substantially identical with those indicated in Mr. Gilman's letter. Although near the close of his seventy-sixth year, he was appointed one of the Trustees of the Foundation, and entered upon this new field of activity with an enthusiasm which it was delightful to see. In a family letter, written the day he heard of the consummation of Mrs. Sage's gift, he wrote: "This is truly magnificent. It is full of promise, and I need hardly say to you that I am delighted to take part in such an organization. I have just telegraphed and written to Mr. De Forest 'of course' accepting."

In his connection with charity work Mr. Gilman showed the same qualities of greatness as in the sphere of education. He had a rare sympathy with the strong as well as with the

weak. One of his most notable qualities was his habit of laying on others responsibilities which they could carry and which he knew would develop their power and capacity. When he gave to any one a task, he gave with it great freedom of action, while continuing to act as a frank adviser. Many a young man was indebted to Dr. Gilman for insisting that he should swim for himself.

His power of getting quickly to the center and substance of a person or a question, and avoiding non-essentials, was extraordinary. His sharp insight often steered affairs away from fatal shoals and rocks onto which others would have floundered by reason of near-sighted attention to detail. At the same time he always looked at all sides of a proposition and tried to discover its full significance. His desire to make everything fit into its place in the community and play a proper part in furthering the general welfare was almost a passion. Recognizing fully what was due to each individual, he always considered first how the interests of the whole community could best be cemented and advanced.

Mr. Gilman's earnest interest and helpful activity in works of philanthropy and charity extended throughout his whole life. It began before he had chosen the career in which he became one of the nation's leaders, and it continued, after he had laid down his great educational and scientific responsibilities, almost to the day of his death. The undiminished ardor of his interest and the unflinching fidelity of his labor in these good works, in the last years of his life, make peculiarly appropriate the application to himself of words that he once spoke of a fellow worker in charity: "We cannot imagine the activities to which our associate has gone forward, but if those who leave us continue on the lines they have followed here, this departed friend is still in the beneficent work of the Master, in whose footsteps he has been

walking. . . . His work remains for us to carry on, in the memory of his unselfishness and in the inspiration of his example."

During the period of Mr. Gilman's service as President of Johns Hopkins he made five trips to Europe, glimpses of some of which may be of interest. He was not a copious letter writer and kept nothing in the way of diary or journal beyond fugitive memoranda. Of the first of these visits to Europe in 1877, immediately after his marriage, hardly any record seems to have been preserved in the form of letters; and on the occasion of the next European trip, in 1883, Mrs. Gilman appears to have done most of the family letter writing. One of her letters, telling of a visit to the English Norwich, the ancestral home of the Gilmans, may be given here:

NORWICH, July 7, 1883.

We came from London this afternoon through a lovely country and this exquisite English summer atmosphere, and here we are in old Norwich at a quaint old-fashioned inn which you can easily imagine with its funny little court, its landlady with her curls and keys, the high curtained beds, the highly communicative and interested waiter, and best of all its crisp cleanliness which I fear could not be equalled at the Wauregan House, Norwich, Conn., where I am happy to say we do not "put up." We arrived at half past six, but in these northern latitudes the day is by no means over at that hour, so after refreshing ourselves with some tea and bread and butter we took a carriage and drove about to see the place. It is a large thriving town of 100,000 inhabitants and is all up and down hill like its American namesake, with a great many picturesque old churches and buildings, a lovely cathedral and a great square castle dominating the whole. Parts of the old wall remain here and

there, but the modern spirit is hard at work to freshen everything up. Dean Goulburn's deanery in the close is a very picturesque old house. After driving for some time we went to Mr. Gilman's, the Mayor's — almost the last representative of the name over here. He and his wife were delightfully warm and cordial and claimed us as relatives. They live in a pretty place, "Stafford House," just out of town, with pretty lawn and trees and gardens, and are evidently wealthy people. Mrs. Gilman is a dear little woman, all cordiality and pleasantness and her husband has the real Gilman look. They insisted upon our dining with them tomorrow at their early Sunday dinner, so we are to go to the Cathedral service in the morning with Mrs. Gilman and see the Mayor come in his robe and chain and escort, and after the service are to drive home with her. In the afternoon a carriage is to call for us and take us out to Hingham, the little town from which the puritan Gilmans emigrated 250 years ago. I tell Daniel he has a most sentimental desire to take his children to see the church where his ancestors refused to worship. . . .

This morning we went to the Cathedral and heard Dean Goulburn preach — a beautiful face and a voice like a sweet bell, but a poor sermon. It was interesting to see "His most worshipful the Mayor" come in preceded by two maces, two "castles" and an immense sword, while the organ played "God save the Queen." He wore a scarlet fur-trimmed robe and an immense gold chain. We sat in the choir. After, we drove to the Gilmans, where we had a delightful time. They are the kindest, sweetest of people. Mrs. G. a charmer. Then we drove 14 miles to Hingham, where there is a beautiful old Parish church. The choir is full of Gilman tombs, but nothing more recent than 1750. The last of the name died a few years since. Daniel looked up the old family solicitor, who I think regarded us as the recreant Gilmans of 250 years ago returning to their duty.

The heavy burden assumed by Mr. Gilman during the months from May to August, 1889, in perfecting the organ-

ization of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and putting it in shape for the opening, while at the same time attending to his duties as President of the University, resulted in a great strain on his health. Upon the completion of his work in connection with the Hospital he was given a year's leave of absence, and in the autumn of 1889 started for a Mediterranean tour.

This journey formed the richest of Mr. Gilman's experiences of travel; and the combination of geographical and historical interest with that of the picturesque and the human side of it was such as to appeal in an exceptional degree to a man of precisely his training and predilections. He wrote a number of letters relating to his tour for several American publications, among them a highly appreciative account of Cardinal Lavigerie and his work, sent from Algiers to the *Christian Union*, and a letter to the *Nation* from the same place, reviving the memory of "A Forgotten Consul," William Shaler, an American of whose brave and signal service in the days of Decatur and Bainbridge he found memorials at Algiers, but whose memory has not been duly preserved by his countrymen. The tour included participation in the celebration by the University of Montpellier of the completion of its sixth century, and, at its other extreme, comprised a visit to Palestine. On his return to Baltimore Mr. Gilman gave a series of lectures at the University on the geography of the Mediterranean and its relation to history. In his address at the opening of the fifteenth year of the University in October, 1890, Mr. Gilman referred to his recent travels, in part as follows:

I have been talking as if the events of the last fourteen years made a chapter of ancient history. No doubt they seem so to some of our younger friends, but I ought not to make such an error, for I am freshly arrived from Heliopolis, where a solitary obelisk, standing in a field of waving corn, marks the site where Moses and Plato are said to have

studied, and I have been a guest in many institutions that were venerable when Christopher Columbus made his voyages. Think of the impression made upon a traveller from Baltimore, where there are hardly any buildings one hundred years old, when the warden of Merton College, in Oxford, invited him to visit "the muniment room" of that college and promised to show him the archives, kept for six hundred years in the same place. Or surmise, if you can, what reply he made to a lady in the gardens of Christ Church, when she asked: "What is the difference between the Johns Hopkins University and the University of Cambridge?"

It would give me a pleasure, if the time permitted, to recount this evening the series of intellectual photographs which were received on the long journey that I made last winter. In some respects it was the most stimulating period of all my school life. After visiting the great exhibition in Paris, and discovering (with an effort which made me feel like a discoverer of America) the modest contributions which were made by Baltimore to that museum, the most wonderful display of recent science, industry, and art that the world has ever seen, I passed through the principal cities of Spain to the Straits of Gibraltar. Then followed eleven voyages upon the Mediterranean. Thus we were able to see a little of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, and to taste the dates of Biskra beneath the palm trees of the oasis. We visited Carthage, of which Mr. Freeman says "there is no spot which the unity of history may more rightly claim as one of its choicest possessions," and were impressed as he was by the fact that a successor of Cyprian had just built "a metropolitan church on the height which is at once the Bozrah (Byrsa) of Dido and the Hill of Saint Lewis, the spot from which Gaiseric ruled the seas, the spot to which Heraclitus dreamed of translating the dominion of the elder and younger Rome."

We spent a few days in Malta. Then came a visit to Syracuse, Agrigentum, Palermo and Naples. Our faces were then turned to Egypt, where we ascended the Nile to Philae. A visit to Jerusalem followed. Then there was a long voyage along the coast of Asia Minor and through

the islands of the Ægean. We visited Beirût, Smyrna, Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, Mycenæ, Tiryns, Epidauros, Olympia. Then our route was homeward.

The views of the Mediterranean, as seen from the Asiatic and African coasts, as well as from Europe, are of surpassing beauty, for over large areas mountains and high hills lie within a short distance of the deep blue sea. In vain the mind endeavors to decide whether the finer prospect is seen from Taormina or Algiers, whether the Bay of Naples is more beautiful than the Bay of Smyrna, whether the heart beats quicker as the spectator looks out from the citadel at Cairo, beyond the verdure of the Nile to the barren plains where rise the pyramids — earliest important monuments of human industry; or as he surveys from the Acropolis the beautiful hills and fertile plains surrounding the city of Athens, and the magnificent ruins which recall the days of Pericles; or as he stands upon the Mount of Olives and sees upon the east the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, — upon the west, the City of the Great King, and the mountains that are round about Jerusalem.

Every country had its special lessons, taught by new acquaintances and suggested by unfamiliar circumstances, exciting the mind to inquiry and attention, taxing the memory, suggesting unanswerable questions, and illustrating at once the unity of mankind and the diversities of social environment. It was always interesting to trace the duration of ideas once expressed in literature or recorded upon monuments. The struggles of humanity after light, truth, power and perpetuity, and the repeated disappointments which have attended the noblest efforts, came to mind as a mournful chapter of fulfilled prophecy. The histories of Herodotus, of Pausanias, of the Bible, acquired distinctness when they were read upon the sites to which they refer. The literature of the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Latins became animate with reality. The importance of the excavations which have been made in the last half century and are now progressing with more zest than ever can hardly be over-rated.

A special objective of his next visit to Europe, in 1892, was the Tercentenary of the University of Dublin, which

Mr. Gilman attended as the representative of the Johns Hopkins University. The following is an extract from an account of the celebration which Mr. Gilman sent to a Baltimore newspaper:

There were many speeches during the week, but no such formal address or oration as would have been thought essential in like celebrations at home. Thus at Harvard, a few years ago, we heard the eloquent historical discourse of James Russell Lowell, and at Columbia the oration of Frederic R. Coudert. The only stately address which could be compared with these was the sermon of the Dean in St. Patrick's Cathedral, after the procession just referred to had taken their seats, but this was restricted to the religious history of the university and by the necessary limitations of an hour devoted to sacred worship. But there were many short speeches — some of them informal and after-dinner; some of them ceremonious, when the addresses of distant universities were presented to the University of Dublin, and some of them thoroughly enthusiastic and inspiring, when Max Müller, the philologist; Vambéry, the Asiatic traveler; Stockvis, the physician from Amsterdam; Léon Say, of Paris; Cremona, the Italian mathematician, and our countryman, Gen. Francis A. Walker, of Boston, addressed the students.

With all the dignified exercises of the week sports were continually blended. The beautiful grounds of the college were open every afternoon for cricket matches, and on Fridays for six hours there was a succession of athletic games, the winners receiving prizes. Thousands of people, covered by their umbrellas, stood watching these sports unaffrighted by the showers, and these spectators were ladies and gentlemen whose plumes and coats were as indifferent to the rain as those of birds and squirrels. Old people as well as young enjoyed these contests. All the dons of the college were on the ground, and the most illustrious of the guests looked on with pleasure. Indeed this festive spirit was one of the most delightful characteristics of the week. It seemed as if our Irish hosts had the art of enjoyment. They knew how to play and how to make others play. There was no rudeness,

no disagreeable hilarity, no scrambling and crowding at any assembly; but by the most careful prearrangements, there was a place for everybody who had the right to be present and everybody was in his place. One afternoon the provost's daughter planted a mulberry tree within the college grounds to mark the tercentenary — and a Sapphic ode in Latin was sung. One evening a long historical ode was given by a large chorus, accompanied by an orchestra. Another evening the students acted as the male characters in Sheridan's *Rivals*, and all the dignities, bishops, professors, lords and ladies, men of distinction in science and letters were present, applauding. I think this art of enjoying leisure and of entering into the sports of young people is one of the reasons — and the climate is another — why the English who lead intellectual lives hold out in their full activity so much longer than Americans. The number of British scholars, assembled here during the past week, who are over seventy years of age is noteworthy. Men like James Martineau, who is nearer to ninety than he is to eighty, and like Lord Kelvin (Sir Wm. Thomson), who has completed fourscore years, were seen everywhere, apparently as full of enjoyment as the youngest graduate. At the closing ball of the students the dances were opened by Lord and Lady Zetland, the vice-regal dignities, and by Lord and Lady Dufferin.

In an editorial account of the Dublin celebration which appeared in the *New York Churchman*, the following reference occurs to the speech made by Mr. Gilman as the representative of America :

As the speaker from each country went up, of course his "national anthem" was played. That for the Irish delegates was "St. Patrick's Day," and it brought the audience to their feet, set the rear portion of the house half dancing and waving their programs in time with the music. Nor should it be omitted, as to an American the most amusing circumstance of the day, that when President Gilman, of Johns Hopkins, ascended the stage to speak for America in

beauteous array and stately demeanor, he had to sustain the whole, standing with gravest and most benignant mien, till the band could finish "Yankee Doodle," after which he electrified and carried away the audience by the best speech of the day.

The letters to his daughters given below relate to the Scotch and English, not the Irish portion of this tour:

INVERNESS, July 24, 1892.

Here we are in our most northern station, — after a week of Oban and its excursions. You have heard through Mamma's note and mine a part of the story, — but I will see if I can pick up a few more crumbs from our perpetual feast. Last Sunday, Monday and Tuesday we are as quiet as tired travellers can be. Tuesday was enforced quiet because we had fixed our eyes upon Iona, — but the winds blew and the sky lowered and the sea said come not in this direction. But Wednesday was Queen's weather, and with the sky bright, the waters smooth, the temperature delightful and the boat large and steady, we made one of the pleasantest excursions of our tour. Staffa interested me more than the Giant's Causeway which it so closely resembles. We entered Fingal's Cave in a boat, going to its furthest extremity, some two hundred feet, while many of our companions went on foot along a series of steps and galleries. We sailed close to the little island for a considerable distance so that we could see its remarkable structure. I tried to make out the basis for Whitehouse's speculations as to human sculpture. The only place which would even suggest hand-craft, or I ought to say arm-craft, was not a base for hypothesis but a roof. The top of the cave did look as if some monster of the deep had removed with his clumsy dentistry the supporting pillars, leaving compact, closely fitting sockets above. It is ten years since I read Whitehouse and I do not remember exactly what he said. Doubtless Mr. Longfellow, who knows everything about architecture, will remember. Iona, like Staffa, had a most familiar look; it must be just as you saw it, except for a new-made grave just

outside the oldest chapel, where a certain Mr. Johnson, who for a score of years has been led by antiquarian or ecclesiastical zeal, I did not hear which, to make his annual visit to the island, (coming from Lancashire) has at last found rest. Thursday, with weather good, but not so good, we made the tour toward Glasgow, through the sounds, and the Crinan Canal, changing at Doonan to another boat which bore us to Hellensburgh. Then by Dumbarton we went to Balloch at the south end of Loch Lomond for the night. We took this course to avoid the crowded station at Glasgow, more crowded than usual just now because "the Glasgow fair is on," — as we hear continually. There was n't much to tell of Balloch, or to remember, except that Mamma beat me at Halma — (but, Lizzie, I have beaten since!) Queen's weather in the morning on Loch Lomond, and an enchanting sail from one end of it to the other. A stage ride, and a car ride, over the same route that we followed from the Trossachs, brought us into Oban. We were refreshed at the excellent "Alexandra Hotel," which seemed home-like, (as a hotel that is good always seems when one returns to it) and at five o'clock with big trunks and little trunks, hat box and rug-bundle, we were on a boat again bound toward the Caledonian Canal. The day was as clear as that on which we went to Iona, and the weather actually warm, for the first time since we left New York. We went beyond Bally — and Fort Augustus to a little place of which we did not hear until we were well on the way, Bannavie, but it appeared to be the regular thing to stop here for the night and not, as we had expected, nearer Oban. In the morning, when we entered the canal-boat, whom should we find in the adjacent yacht but our distant kinsfolk, the Alexander Gilmans of Brighton. I wrote to Aunt Louise about our making their acquaintance at Oban. They came and made us a call before the canal-boat started and we may see them here tomorrow. We found them very pleasant acquaintances. I must be a Gilman of Gilmans, for they are struck by my likeness to Mr. A. Gillman's father, the son of Dr. Gillman, Coleridge's protector. I will not try to describe our journey, for you know its outlines, and there were no special incidents with one exception. The boat

halted for three quarters of an hour, carriages were in waiting and we made a detour to see one of the most beautiful of cascades, — the falls of Foyen. It is not so much the height of the fall as it is the volume of water that springs with a leap, like a gigantic stag, down the deep cut and densely wooded chasm. I wonder if this side-show was open to you. It came to me as a complete surprise, for I had not even noticed the allusions to it in our guide-books. We enjoyed the entire route from Banavie to Inverness. Near views and distant were all good. Ben Nevis, with its relics of winter snow near the summit of 4400 feet, made us talk of Green Mountain and our dear ones at North East, — and indeed, all along the journey we were making comparisons with the familiar shores of Maine, which do not suffer by comparison. The conveniences of travel are much greater here, and on the whole the scenery is finer and more varied. Indeed I think yesterday was one of the most delightful sections of our journey so far. I wish I could go over it again, — not today but one of these days. . . .

EDINBURGH, August 7, 1892.

The week has been full of pleasant varieties. We have been to many of the meetings of the British Association and have heard the opening lecture of Professor Geikie on the History of Geology, since Hutton and Werner disputed upon fundamental principles one hundred years ago; and that of Professor Milnes Marshall on "pedigrees," — one of the best popular presentations that I have ever listened to of a comprehensive subject which *might* have been treated with all the technicality of modern biology. We also heard Professor M'Calister's opening discourse on the outlook of anthropology. We were present at an interesting discussion in which Lord Kelvin and Professor Helmholtz took part. But we have secured our afternoons for delightful excursions. Once we went to Prince Arthur's Seat and Craig-millar Castle, with our delightful cousins; once to Dumfermline; once to Roslyn; and yesterday our entire day was given up to the Land of Scott. A special train left Waverley Station at eleven o'clock for Melrose. There nineteen

coaches and wagonettes were in waiting by which the party was carried from point to point. To Mamma this was familiar country; to my eyes it was all new. But the pictures and descriptions have been so numerous and so good that I seemed to have seen it all, — many years ago. I was delighted with the whole excursion. Every thing remains in Sir Walter's apartments as it was — the books, the pictures, the furniture, the bust of Chantrey, the portrait of Sir Walter and his dog by Raeburn, the armor, the souvenirs given to him by admiring friends, the gardens, the terraces, and the gently flowing Tweed. Melrose, I am sorry to say, did not come up to my expectations. It is so hidden by poor dwelling houses that the general view is disappointing. Dryburgh on the other hand was "all my fancy painted her." We paid our homage to the tomb of Sir Walter and to that of Sir David Brewster, and we loitered in the enclosures until all our party of one hundred and fifty persons had started for the coaches. When the procession was again formed we were driven over Bremerryde Hill in order that we might see beautiful views of the Valley of the Tweed and of the distant Cheviot hills. Then the entire party was entertained at Gattonside House, where there are spacious rooms, beautiful gardens and fine lawns and gracious ladies with abundance of refreshment, ices, fruit, sandwiches, tea, coffee and, for those who wished it, the juice of the barley corn. Here we saw the widow of Sir David Brewster, who was first President of the British Association, sixty-two years ago, if I remember aright, but Lady Brewster is not the elderly person that you may suppose, for we were told that when seventeen years old she married him in his eighty-second year! Another ride in the coaches brought us after tea to the Melrose Station, and by a special train we were carried to Edinburgh, reaching our hotel before 10 o'clock in the evening. I cannot begin to tell you of all the pleasant people whom we have met. We have taken dinner at Lord M'Laren's, one of the Justices of the Court of Sessions, and at Mr. John Murray's, (the head of the "Challenger" publications). We lunched at Sir William Turner's, where we met our old Oxonian friend Sir Henry Acland, who gave Mamma an itinerary for Devonshire and urged her to visit

his brother and nephew! Then I went without Mamma to 5 o'clock tea at Professor Ewart's, where the Burdon Sandersons (Mrs. Cunliffe's friends) are staying, and also to Professor Tait's, where there was a brilliant group of physicists, our host, Lord Kelvin, Sir G. G. Stokes, Professor Wiedeman of Erlangen and Professor Schoube of Groningen, — all assembled to meet Professor and Mrs. Von Helmholtz. So you see our time has been well occupied, — but nevertheless we have taken everything leisurely and we have no sense of fatigue or hurry. Sir W. Turner, of all whom we have met, has been most friendly. He is an anatomist of the highest distinction, and the head of the Medical School in the University of Edinburgh.

I began my letter early on Sunday morning. It is now well on toward noon Monday and, for the second time since we arrived in Scotland, the skies are "dripping wet." We shall presently take a cab and go out for our last glimpse of Edinboro' and tomorrow, unless we change our minds, we shall turn our faces toward London, stopping en route at Durham, York and Lincoln. We have accepted invitations to visit the Jebbs, Creightons and Farrars, and have had more or less formal invitations to visit new acquaintances which we do not see the way to accept. It is with real regret that we close our accounts with Scotland. Of all the many journeys I have made, this has been one of the very pleasantest. If our dear daughters could only be near us, with our sisters and our cousins and our nieces and nephews and brothers and old friends, we should look at once for a house in Edinboro' and a lodge at St. Fillan's!

LONDON, August 27.

I sent Lizzie a special note from Winchester, so you shall have a special account of my visit to East London. Lord Stamford, who you remember perhaps spent many days in Baltimore, invited me to take a *fish* dinner or luncheon and then go with him on his weekly visit to Shoreditch and other charming places. I could not accept the fish, but I did go to a district meeting of the Charity Org. Soc. in Hackney, where I saw just such a gathering and heard just such

tales as I might have seen or heard in Baltimore. There was the fraudulent letter writer whose appeal for help was sent in by Lord Spencer for investigation; there was the man out of work in Birmingham whose wife in London wished to get to him; there was the shiftless drunkard whose family was suffering, and so on through the melancholy list. Two ministers, two laymen, the agent, a nice young lady trained at Girton, and the Chairman (Lord Stamford) were refreshing themselves with a five o'clock cup of tea, while they gave the most careful consideration to the cases brought forward. The meeting lasted nearly two hours and a half, and occurs in like form every week and sometimes twice weekly. Then we went to St. Jude's Church, where I saw for the first time the mosaic of Watts' picture, Life and Time overtaken by the Judgment; then to Toynbee Hall, which I had never seen before, and which has grown to be quite a large and attractive group of buildings — with its lecture hall, lodging rooms, club house and adjacent house for men of lower grade than the principal workers. We walked through some of the poorest streets, those occupied by the Polish Jews being amongst the worst; we saw the new tenement houses and the widened streets cut through the forlornest neighborhoods, and everywhere marks of improvement were visible. All this good effort begins to tell. Cocoa houses, vegetarian restaurants, and tee-totums, — a sort of tea club house — are among the agencies for fighting Alcohol. We dined at Oxford house, — the last evening of the old house. The next day the establishment moves to its new and spacious quarters described in the *Guardian* of June 27. (If you have it still, save it for me.) Whom should I find at Oxford House but Mr. Cross, in whose tent on the Mt. of Olives we took tea two years ago. I have not time to write more just now, but this will be an outline for a talk when we meet.

The last of his European trips during the Johns Hopkins Presidency centered about a still more imposing university celebration, the four hundredth anniversary of the Univer-

sity of Cracow. Below are a few letters to his daughters recording some of his impressions:

VIENNA, 10 A. M. (June 5)
Tuesday.

There is not much to tell, — but having a good room, and having had a good wash, I am quite ready to say Good Morning to "the girls I left behind me."

From the town where the Trieste train joined the Venetian, I sent you a postal card, — and then having drunk your healths in an excellent glass of beer, and eaten my sandwich, and made a dessert of Alice's chocolate, I turned into my berth, having no companion in the section. Then I slept the sleep of the sound, and did not wake until Phæbus himself came knocking at the window in all the blaze of a glorious dawn. I soon made out that we were drawing near the Semering pass, — the most beautiful part of the route, and for two hours more the scenery was delightful, now reminding me of the Alleghanies, and now of the Sierra Nevada. The Valley was beautifully green and the hills were for the most part well wooded. Now and then, on the distant summit, snow was visible.

Phæbus was soon followed by Janus, who asked if I would have coffee, and in response to my "Ja-wohl," Mercurius came, and gave me a better cup of *café au lait* than I have had in Italy. Then I studied my time tables, and guide books, until the long shriek of the engine announced our arrival in Vienna. Here, every thing was as easy as it would have been at the N. Charles St. Station, and after changing my last *lire* for *florins*, at the ticket office, I drove in a cab to this highly respectable and not wholly inexpensive hotel.

Now I shall "descend," post my letter, get some more florins, visit the galleries, and read the papers.

It is awfully lonesome, — but I am always conscious of your good wishes and of Mamma's photograph. The former are familiar friends, — the latter is what Lizzie used to call "a new sensation."

CRACOW, Wednesday, 4 P. M.

Here at last! Leaving Vienna at 8 A. M. in a solitary compartment of the express train, an admirable car, as good as anything that Pullman provides for us, — I was at first startled by finding that the train was off 15 minutes before the appointed hour, but I was soon soothed by the explanation that so many of the Herrschaften were going to the celebration at Cracow as to make a division of the train necessary. I was in the first section, and the entire administration, so different from the Italian, filled me with pleasure. If I had been a prince the conductor could not have been more ceremoniously civil. An excellent déjeuner, (twice as much as I wanted) from caviar to compotes, through a series of meats and vegetables, in short a dinner "complet." The line is not interesting, except as well tilled fields and gardens and the sight of thrifty people make it so. Off in the distance, across the plains, are the great battle fields of Austerlitz and Wagram, — but not near enough to be seen. On reaching Oderburg Dr. Haupt was in plain sight and the next two hours passed quickly enough. What a crowd we found at the station! Students, professors, committees, ladies, porters, soldiers, — a motley array, — and *Polish* the only known language *current*. Even Dr. Haupt was staggered, but we soon found the desk of the reception committee and learned that I was quartered (as requested) at the Hotel Dresden and he at the house of an Oriental professor. He was kind enough to say that he would not leave me alone and he succeeded in getting a room close by mine. The house is on the central square, near everything. My room is No. 1, the best in the house, — large, clean, airy and pleasant. That is as far as I have got! We are going to rest an hour and then take a drive. The evening reception comes at 9 P. M., and there is a pile of cards and announcements which I have not yet quite mastered.

Thursday, 10 A. M.

You will not be surprised that the first thing we did, after the midday heat departed, was to drive to the mound, the cairn, that commemorates Kosciusko. It is a mile or two

out in the suburbs; and after passing through some disagreeable streets, we entered a long, well graded ascent, shaded by horse chestnuts and other trees. On top of this hill, which is not quite as high as "East rock," we entered an Austrian fortification, and then by a winding foot-path ascended the artificial mound that honors the Polish patriot. It is a cone, reminding one of a pyramid, rounded. On top is a large boulder, with only the one word Kosciusko. But the View. It is most interesting. The river Vistula bordered with rich fields runs through the great broad valley. In the distance are high hills, and in the far distance the white tops of the Tatra mountains are distinctly seen. From the hill we drove to the Cathedral and went down into a dark damp crypt, where we stood and looked for a moment at the tombs of Kosciusko, Poniatowski and Sobieski.

We had two hours' rest before the reception, which was given in an old cloth-hall, a market place built about 1400 as an exchange for the guild of drapers. It is now a picture gallery, the walls covered with modern pictures. Here was a crowd, — ladies, dignities, music and refreshments, like many another reception. I was presented to the Bishop or Archbishop, and to many famous professors, — but I was most glad to meet Sienkiewicz, an attractive vigorous pleasant man of about fifty years, dignified and affable. He told me that twenty years ago he visited America, and he seemed moderately interested in what I told him of the popularity of his writings among us.

5 P. M. This has been a full day. It began with processions and music, and then came high mass, after which the procession was re-formed and walked across the town to the University church, where the great ceremonies were held. Dr. Haupt and I had a hint that we need not attend the mass but might go at once to the other church, so we had half an hour of rest before the procession came. All marks of the altar were hidden, and in the pulpit a photographic camera was placed. On the walls were fine Gobelin tapestries, and we were placed very near the tomb of Copernicus. The Rector's seat was in front of the altar, and all around him were the chairs of the professors. The guests faced the faculty. I will not try to describe the brilliant scene.

Architecture, drapery, costumes, produced a brilliant effect. No ladies were present. After vocal music came the Rector's speech in Polish, then the presentation of addresses for universities and learned societies followed, and the ceremony concluded with the bestowal of honorary degrees. Simon Newcomb and Comparetti were among the honored. I was called out to speak for America, and as *Am precedes Anglia*, it came to pass that I was the first speaker. I spoke three or four minutes in English and was heartily greeted when I closed. Sienkiewicz came forward and gave me a special greeting. More hereafter. Dinner is due. Your postal here.

Friday, 7 A. M.

Another charming morning in June and another refreshing sleep. The ceremonious dinner, to which I went just after I wrote, was attended by about 500 persons, who came to the table at 5.30. As an abundant luncheon, lasting from half past one to half past four, had taken away my appetite, the dinner to me consisted of sights and sounds. Stunning music from a military band, speeches so poorly uttered that few could hear them, — a Babel of languages — tired me quickly, and instead of going with the company to the theatre where only Polish was to be spoken, I returned to my lodgings and was sound asleep soon after 10 o'clock. For a while I sat and looked out of my window. In front of the hotel is a Piazza, about the size of St. Mark's. On one side of it is a great church — Santa Maria, with a lofty tower, and on the other side of the square the drapers' hall where we were received on Wednesday evening. Near by is the tower or campanile of an ancient Rath-haus now gone. Shops line the other sides of the square. Posts painted in blue and white and festooned with evergreen led to the door of St. Maria's, and under there the academic processions went in the morning. All the buildings of the Piazza were handsomely illuminated and a sweeping search light kept throwing its beams on objects near and far. Cracow was once a court city, and there are many marks of its former dignity. The boulevards that surrounded it are now admirably kept parks, well shaded, with excellent walks and

good seats. The population numbers about 90,000, of whom nearly one third are said to be Jews, — dealers in all sorts of things. The University dominates the city with its large faculties and thousands of students. There are also gymnasia and convents and societies of history, science and the fine arts. I was constantly reminded of New Haven, — by points of resemblance and of contrast. Altogether, the impressions have been most agreeable. The professors are cultivated men, and the Rector is the very perfection of a presiding officer. In his brilliant crimson silk gown, and his ermine cape, he was the very picture of dignity and grace, receiving each delegation with measured courtesy, — a little different toward every party. . . .

BERLIN, Saturday, 9 A. M.

It is a great change from the capital of Poland to the capital of Prussia, — but you see that I have made it. It was my intention when I parted from Dr. Haupt, about 2 P. M. yesterday, to rest overnight in Breslau, and arrive here at night-fall; but I found that I could control the compartment all the way to Berlin, so I bought a supplementary ticket and came through on a fast train, on time, — all the management being far better than is usual, according to our experience, in Italy and France. We arrived a few minutes after 5 o'clock, and with bag and baggage I was soon lodged in this commodious house. Having had my nap, my wash and my coffee, I now turn to the ink-stand!

The second celebration in Cracow differed wholly from the first. It was devoted to a commemoration of Copernicus, — the central point being a monument to the great astronomer, who was here a student four hundred years ago! The ceremonies took place in the open quadrangle of the old university, where Copernicus must have been. It is a beautiful Gothic cloister, never occupied by monks, but always devoted to the work of the university. The new figure unveiled in our presence is that of a young man, in an academic dress, engaged in study. It is a spirited work, well mounted, and enriched by various accessories. I could not but wonder whether any Hopkinsian will be remembered so long, —

and if so will it be Sylvester, or Newcomb, or Rowland, or some one still a student, and yet unknown to fame. There were speeches and songs — But the *picture* most impressed me. This excellent architecture, — here a window and there a door, and there a staircase; a gallery, filled with ladies, protected by a sculptured balustrade, — the monument, the dignified Rector in his ermine and crimson, supported by the bearers of ancient maces, the assembly of scholars in all sorts of costumes, — all this, in bright sunshine, made a tableau never to be forgotten. . . .

Mr. Gilman referred to the Cracow celebration in his presidential report for the year as follows:

The ceremonies included a religious service, processions, banquets, private hospitality, addresses, the bestowal of honorary degrees (one of which came to Professor Simon Newcomb, of this University), and the unveiling of a statue of Copernicus, a student in Cracow four hundred years ago. The enthusiasm with which the loftiest ideals of literature and science have been upheld, amid all the perils of time, war, political changes, and academic reorganization, made a deep impression upon all the visitors. The venerable university is just as vigorous, as full of hope, and as much the object of pride, as if it were but newly created by the gifts of the citizens of Cracow.

In the closing years of his life a call came to Mr. Gilman, which he accepted, to the headship of a great and novel enterprise in the advancement of knowledge; and it goes without saying that during his active presidency of Johns Hopkins the only barrier to his receiving offers from leading institutions throughout the country was the obvious certainty that he could not accept them. In spite of this, however, he did receive important calls and overtures, — how many it is impossible to say. But there are two that present marked interest and the correspondence concerning which is

accessible. Although in both cases this correspondence was more or less confidential, there can be no harm at this distance of time in making it public.

The first of the situations in question was brought about by the death of General Francis A. Walker, who had done such memorable work in making the Massachusetts Institute of Technology the great institution which it has become; and it is sufficiently indicated in the following letters:

BOSTON, 16th July, '97.

D. C. GILMAN, Esq.

DEAR SIR:

As the Senior Member of the Executive Committee of Mass. Institute of Technology, upon whom devolves the responsibility of appointing all its officers, subject to the confirmation of the Corporation, it is my pleasant duty to invite you to take the position of President of the Institute made vacant by the death of General Walker.

You know the reputation of the Institute and the dignity of the position of its chief officer. It is not therefore necessary for me to dwell upon these points, but only to convey to you the wish of the Committee that you may find it possible to join them in the conduct of this great public charge.

I remain

Yours very truly,

AUGUSTUS LOWELL.

NORTH EAST HARBOUR, ME.

July 20, 1897.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of July 16 reached me here yesterday. It surprised me as much as it gratified me, for I had received no intimation that my name was under consideration. You will, I trust, allow me a few days to consider a proposition of so much importance. Meanwhile there are two things which I ought to say to you. The first is that I am sixty-six years old, — and this is an obstacle which cannot be over-

come! The second is that I am strongly bound to the Johns Hopkins University and I cannot foretell what will be said by our Trustees, and by my colleagues, if I should give them an intimation of your overtures.

I trust that, for the sake of all parties interested, these negotiations may not be known to the public until a conclusion is reached, and not then if the decision is adverse.

I am well acquainted with the character, influence and renown of the Institute. I honor the memory of General Walker. I should like to live in Boston, the centre of the best educational impulses of the country. Yet I apprehend that the two considerations I have named will make it appear inexpedient for me to leave Baltimore.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours with the highest respect,

DANIEL C. GILMAN.

AUGUSTUS LOWELL, Esq.

BOSTON, 22d July '97.

MY DEAR SIR:

It is now six months since the death of General Walker, and time that his place were filled. We have not thought it wise to attempt to do this earlier, out of deference to his memory, and awaiting such an opportunity as occurred to us when we heard that under the conditions of your present charge you might possibly be willing to consider a change of duties. You will of course take what time you may require to reach a decision, which I hope may be favorable to our wishes.

Personally it would be a great pleasure to me to be associated with you in carrying on the work of the Institute, and I should feel it to be a great relief in the discharge of a grave responsibility should we be so fortunate as to secure your co-operation.

I quite agree with you that the public has no claim to our confidence, but a secret known to more than two persons is never safe, however carefully it may be thought to be guarded.

I remain

Yours very truly,

AUGUSTUS LOWELL.

NORTH EAST HARBOR, MAINE,
July 24, 1897.

MY DEAR SIR:

Since receiving your first note, its proposition, as I need hardly assure you, has been constantly on my mind. I have thought seriously of going to Boston that I might confer with you; after which it might be best to consult my associates in Baltimore. This would be likely to give a limited publicity to our negotiations which it is desirable to avoid, especially as the considerations named in my previous letter appear decisive in the light I now have. In view of what you say of the Institute, I ought not to keep the question open, and so, with a deep sense of the honor extended to me, my conclusion is that I cannot accept the proffered appointment. With the highest respect for the Institute and its Boards of management, and for you personally, I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

D. C. GILMAN.

HON. AUGUSTUS LOWELL.

The problem of a new President for Yale, after the resignation of President Dwight, was of a very different character from that presented at the Massachusetts Institute, and it will certainly be surprising to many people to learn that Mr. Gilman was even so much as thought of, at his then age, for that peculiar post. While the Massachusetts proposition presented itself in the shape of a positive call, Mr. Gilman's age naturally enough prevented the Yale proposal from going beyond the stage of suggestion. The correspondence, however, is not without interest:

GERMANTOWN, PHILADA., PA.,
Nov. 24, 1898.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

Would you permit your name to be considered as a candidate for the Presidency of Yale?

The accepted resignation of President Dwight has developed a grave crisis in our affairs. I do not know of any one who is so admirably qualified for the position as yourself.

I will hold your frank reply as confidential, if you will allow me to do so.

Sincerely yours,

BURDETT HART.

Nov. 26, 1898.

MY DEAR DR. HART:

Your question surprises and confuses me. If it is only the utterance of an old friend, I beg you to say no more. Do nothing to lead me into the domain of anxieties and perplexities. If you speak as the Senior member of the Corporation, I should feel bound to give the most careful consideration, before replying definitely. I may say on the moment, that I am happy in my present life, and have no desire to change it; and also, that you cannot expect me to become a candidate for the high and honorable position to which your letter alludes, in any sense that would imply an effort, on the part of my friends, or on my own part, to secure the consideration of my name. I write to you in the freedom of personal friendship; but I see no reason why you should regard this note as confidential, if you have any reason to communicate it to any of your colleagues.

Yours with high regard,

D. C. GILMAN.

REV'D DR. B. HART.

GERMANTOWN, Nov. 28, 1898.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

I thank you for your frank and cordial letter. I wrote for myself and without conference with others. At our meeting when Pres. Dwight resigned the members of the corporation seemed dazed and no one had a name to present for the succession. We have been *thinking* since that. I thought of you immediately and have thought of no one else for the place. If the way should be open it will please me to present your name for suffrage. To me you seem the ideal man

for the position. Some may think you are too old. Are you willing in the freedom of friendship to tell me what your age is? I will regard it as private if you desire it.

Replying to a letter from Judge —, who did not feel able to name a man, I asked him what he would think of President Gilman. And he replied on Nov. 26th, "I consider President Gilman the best of all the candidates named except for the fact that he is so near 70." That is a matter beyond human power to change. It is not a factor of decision. I do not propose to go any further than you kindly allow me to go in this matter.

Other names may be presented, but so far I do not know of any persons who are even seriously talked of.

With cordial regard

Sincerely Yours,

BURDETT HART.

A fall has caused my writing to be almost illegible.

Nov. 29, 1898.

MY DEAR DR. HART:

In reply to your enquiry, — I have no wish to conceal the fact that I was born in Norwich, Conn., July 6, 1831, — and allow me to add that I prize most highly the expression of your personal regard and that which you have been so kind as to quote.

With sincere regard,

Yours truly,

D. C. GILMAN.

REV. B. HART, D.D.

NEW HAVEN, Dec. 28, 1898.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

I have not done what I should have done earlier: but the work has been so crowded and anxious that you must pardon me. I presented your name to the Corporation, and I am certain you would have had unanimous election if you were a younger man: perhaps you would yet receive it if I were free to say that you would certainly accept the appointment were it unanimously tendered. I cannot ask you

to permit me to go as far as that; but I devoutly wish I could say it.

Dear friend, we are in a place of great perplexity. Can you name a man for the high and responsible place?

I would like to say more to you, but will only add that I shall return to Philada. this week, probably on Friday.

I must say one thing more: Some men say President Dwight would consider it a reflection on himself, his decision, if one so nearly of his own age should be appointed to succeed him. I do not agree with them.

Sincerely & affectionately yours

BURDETT HART.

D. C. G. to Rev. Burdett Hart, December 29, 1898.

Your letter of yesterday contains such expressions of confidence and good will that I hasten to return my grateful acknowledgments, especially for adding that you cannot ask me to tell you what I would do under certain circumstances. You make the situation clear and have my sympathy in these perplexities, — but I do not see how I can throw any light upon the problem. I have no doubt that the decision will be wise at which you and your colleagues arrive.

Of the internal history of the University after its character had been established, this biographical volume is not the place to speak. There was nothing in the nature of marked change, nothing that required a choice between conflicting policies or the decision of any crucial question. Nor was the external history of the Johns Hopkins marked by events or vicissitudes that call for mention, aside from two circumstances which played a considerable part in the development of affairs. One of these was the controversy relating to the site of the University; the other the impairment of its funds through the decline in value and productive power of the stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which constituted its chief holdings. Sentiment

was strongly stirred up in Baltimore over the question of the permanent location of the University at Clifton, the country-seat of Johns Hopkins just outside the city limits. The majority of the Board of Trustees decided against the removal of the University from what were at first supposed to be its temporary quarters in the heart of the city to Clifton at any assigned time. In coming to this conclusion they were guided by what they believed to be the best interests of the University and by the conviction that, as the will of the founder had not expressly directed that Clifton should be the site, it was not only their right but their duty to act in the matter solely upon their judgment of what was best for the University; while a minority of the Board took the ground not only that Clifton was in itself desirable, but that, aside from their judgment of the case, the Trustees were under a moral obligation to respect the wishes and expectations of the founder as expressed in conversation during his lifetime, or as indicated by other evidence. In the community at large there existed a like division of sentiment; and the controversy was unfortunate, no doubt, in its effect upon the disposition of many wealthy citizens of Baltimore to aid the University. Within the Board the matter was forced to a crisis in the winter of 1881-82 by the aggressive attitude of one of the members who insisted upon Clifton. There is the less occasion for going any further into this matter that Mr. Gilman was confined to his house by a long illness during the entire period of the discussion in the Board of Trustees, of which, moreover, the President of the University was not, at that time, a member; it happens, therefore, that his name cannot be associated with either side of the controversy.

When the Johns Hopkins University was founded, its endowment, valued at three and a half million dollars, — the largest that had ever been given at one stroke to any

institution of learning by private munificence — impressed the imagination of everybody as promising to the new institution a most prosperous future. To the mind of President Gilman, as of others who really knew the needs of a great university, the endowment, ample as it was, did not present itself as one that would require no supplementing; but it did place him in a condition of ease, and of freedom from anxiety, so far as the prospects of the early years of the University were concerned. While always ready and anxious to avail himself of proper opportunities for the augmentation of the University's resources, it was not in his nature to beat up such opportunities or to employ the arts in which some men are so skillful to make the most of them. It was fortunate for him and for the University that all considerations of this kind were absent from the thoughts of himself and of the Trustees in the initial stages of the work established at Baltimore. The ardors and the aspirations of those early years were not sicklied o'er with the pale cast of any thoughts of money-getting. And it is pleasant to be able to recall that even when financial trouble came and could not be ignored, and up to the time when downright necessity absolutely forced the question of the exchequer to the front, the University kept on its way serenely, paying as little regard to the money question as was consistent with the possibility of making the two ends meet.

But financial disappointment did come early, bringing with it difficulties that had to be faced. The founder had left the bulk of the University's endowment in the form of common stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and almost the only specific recommendation made to the Trustees in his will was an injunction, so emphatic as almost to amount to a mandate, that the University should not part with its holdings of this stock. When, not many years after the founding of the University, the Baltimore and Ohio

suspended dividends on the common stock for a series of years. It may readily be understood how serious was the anxiety that this produced. The surpluses accumulated in preceding years enabled the University to go on for a long time without appealing for aid: but in 1889 an emergency fund of somewhat more than \$100,000 was subscribed, twenty persons making contributions of five thousand dollars each. Mr. Gilman was himself the first subscriber. The Baltimore and Ohio soon resumed payment of dividends, but the revenue was far less than it had been in the early years; the road went through many vicissitudes, including a receivership, and ultimately the University's holdings in this stock were sold for an amount far below their value at the time of its foundation. At a time when the situation thus created was pressing hard upon the University, an incident relating to President Gilman personally gave rise to a movement which resulted in the immediate raising of a Relief Fund of \$250,000, subscribed by a large number of representative citizens of Baltimore. The incident referred to was the proposal of his name, in 1896, for the superintendency of the public schools of New York City.

In order to understand the situation created by this proposal it is necessary to remember that "Greater New York" was then just about to come into existence, and that the best minds and finest spirits of the great city were keenly alive to the possibility of a new and higher future for it. The thought of infusing into the management of its public schools at once the highest purpose and preëminent knowledge and ability opened up to such men possibilities of benefit for the present and the future — for New York itself and for the whole country — quite beyond computation. It was felt in Baltimore by those who knew what Mr. Gilman really was that a mere superficial comparison

of the dignity of the two offices would not stand in the way of his measuring the true greatness of the opportunity presented in New York; and they accordingly realized at once the possibility that the University might suffer at this critical moment the irreparable loss of President Gilman's departure. On all sides protests arose against his acceptance of the New York offer; and it was naturally felt in many quarters that any effort to retain him ought to be accompanied by the raising of a fund at least sufficient to relieve the University of embarrassment in the near future. One of the Baltimore newspapers devoted a long editorial to the setting forth of the situation as affecting Mr. Gilman and as affecting the University, in the course of which it said:

Simultaneously with the great extension of the limits of New York City, an educational law has been enacted which was designed, and is expected, to lead to the placing of her public school system on a new and vastly better footing. Above all else a great organizer, with strong opinions upon educational questions, and intensely interested in promoting the common welfare, he [President Gilman] cannot fail to see in the present exceptional condition of affairs in New York a field at once for the exercise of his highest powers and for making them productive in an extraordinary degree of results beneficial to millions of his countrymen, in this and subsequent generations. Though in his sixty-fifth year, Mr. Gilman has all the vigor and aggressiveness of early manhood, and where most men would view only the enormous difficulties of the situation, he is filled with the inspiration of its great possibilities. . . . If the New York opening should prove to offer such an opportunity for great work as seems possible, the one thing that would keep President Gilman here would be the assurance that the wealthy men of Baltimore will not allow the work of the University to be impaired for want of means, and that they will see to it that the pre-eminence it had so fairly earned shall not be entirely forfeited.

A meeting was promptly held with a view to raising a relief fund of \$250,000. Nearly \$150,000 was subscribed on the spot, in amounts ranging from \$500 to \$20,000; and the entire fund was subscribed within a few days. It need hardly be said that meetings of the Alumni, of the Faculty, and of the Trustees were held within a very few days of the receipt of the news that there was danger of the University losing the President who had made it what it was; and in the face of the attitude of all these bodies, Mr. Gilman found it absolutely impossible to leave. How real a conflict was created in his mind by the pressure of the New York situation will be made sufficiently apparent in the letters reproduced further on; and while the pressure brought to bear on him in Baltimore can easily be imagined without the adducing of any instances, the state of the case and of President Gilman's mind may to some extent be indicated by the following letter and reply:

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
BALTIMORE, MD., May 23, 1896.

PRESIDENT DANIEL C. GILMAN.

DEAR SIR:

At a meeting of the officers of instruction of the Johns Hopkins University held this morning, at which it is believed that every member of the teaching staff in the city at the time was present, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to convey to you an expression of the feelings of the entire academic body in view of the possibility of your withdrawal from the office of President of the University.

We are aware that the question now before you is one involving such grave public interests that personal considerations can be allowed little weight in its determination, and we do not desire to urge this aspect of the case. We do not need to assure you of the earnest and unanimous desire of those who have worked so contentedly and harmoniously under your direction for a continuance of these delightful and most helpful relations, and you well know with what

painful regret we should witness the severing of these ties.

The point which we wish chiefly to emphasize is the effect of your retirement upon the welfare of the University. As its first and only President, you occupy a relation to this institution such as is rarely paralleled: its organization and the development of its distinctive features are mainly due to you. It is, moreover, seldom that the head of an institution of learning is connected in such intimate and varied ways with the life of a community as you are connected with the life of the city of Baltimore. The singular harmony and good-will which have prevailed among all associated in the work of the University are eminently due to your influence. For these and many other reasons, we feel that your withdrawal under any circumstances would be a serious calamity. But under the peculiar conditions at present existing, and in view of the interpretation likely to be put upon such action by persons at a distance, we feel that your retirement would be attended by consequences which we cannot permit ourselves to contemplate.

We do not depreciate the importance and attractiveness of the position to which you have been so urgently invited, but, in consideration of the interests of the University so immediately dependent upon you, we most earnestly hope that you may see it to be your duty to remain in the place which you have filled with such distinction. We need not tell you what confidence and enthusiasm in respect to the future such a determination on your part would inspire in us all.

IRA REMSEN.

HENRY M. HURD.

EDWARD H. GRIFFIN.

H. B. ADAMS.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

BALTIMORE, May 28, 1896.

To PROFESSOR REMSEN, Chairman, and to the Committee of the Faculty, and to those whom they represented:

I cannot express to you, except by continued devotion to the interests of the University, my appreciation of the kind-

ness with which you have remonstrated against my possible departure from the post that I now hold. Even those of you who have had glimpses of the letters and telegrams that have recently come to me, can form but a partial idea of the pressure to which I have been subjected. I am thankful that by your action and that of the Trustees, kindly supported by the Committee of our Alumni. I have been relieved from deciding this question upon my own judgment alone. I am delighted to foresee that with renewed courage and with an unbroken front we are about to enter upon the next decade of our associated work.

I could receive no greater reward than the assurance that those with whom I have lived and worked day by day for twenty years still wish me to remain with them, and that they are so devoted and so willing to bear the stress under which the University is now placed.

The public action that has been taken since your meeting is a guarantee of immediate relief, and I hope that it is also the earnest of future legacies and of additions to our capital.

It has given me pain for years past, from time to time, to perceive how much many of you are fettered in your official duties because of the inadequate funds at the control of the Trustees. It is a common remark among college men that our outlay is very small in proportion to the work that is here done. The reputation of this University is due, in many cases, to self-denial on your part, and it deserves, as I hope it will receive, the recognition of the community.

I remain, in the future as in the past,

Your friend and servant,

D. C. GILMAN.

As an incident in Mr. Gilman's life, however, the connection of this call to New York with the affairs of the Johns Hopkins University is of incomparably less interest than is the New York side of it. That a man who had nearly completed his sixty-fifth year should be called away from the sphere of university work to which his whole life had been devoted, to undertake the reorganization of a

vast system of popular education in a city presenting the extraordinary complexities that exist in the huge metropolis of our country, is remarkable enough. But this does not begin to tell the story. It was not merely a question of organization or reorganization; it was a question, in addition to this, of infusing new life and new virtue into the whole educational system, — such new life and new virtue as it was hoped by the best citizens of New York would affect the whole future of the city, not only through its influence on successive generations of children and young people, but through the infection of its example in all departments of public life. How strongly this feeling was manifested, how insistently it was brought to bear on Mr. Gilman himself, can only be seen by an examination of the letters that he received at this time and of the files of the New York newspapers. It was characteristic of Mr. Gilman's habitual reserve that not even those who were most interested, and who might be supposed to know all the circumstances of the situation, had any idea of the intensity of this pressure. A few letters may be quoted here to show the kind of appeal that was made to him:

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
President's Room, May 22d, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. GILMAN:

I telegraphed you this morning after hearing Dr. Peasley's report. I am in receipt of your reply suggesting that I defer coming until I receive a letter to-morrow morning. Naturally, I comply with your request.

I send this hurried line to impress upon you the importance of doing nothing and saying nothing that will make it impossible for you to come to New York. I have no doubt that every difficulty in the way at this end of the line can be dealt with easily and effectually. That you will be obliged to withstand tremendous pressure from Baltimore I can readily appreciate. What I want to lay before you now as earnestly as possible is this; — that, having con-

sented to the use of your name, I do not think you are any longer free to decline an appointment, if tendered to you upon conditions that you are justified in accepting. I have given three days of my time to this matter, and I am only one of many citizens who have put forth all the influence that they possess to bring about your appointment. No one, of course, has pledged you to acceptance, for that naturally could not be expected of you in the abstract. On the other hand, by permitting the use of your name, a situation has grown up which, in my judgment, will constrain you to accept if the incidental conditions of the appointment are such as to justify it. I believe, also, that the opportunity for usefulness is *worthy of you* and that you are *worthy of it*. All of this I think I could make much more clear in an interview. I write this letter in order to make impossible, so far as I can and if need be, the unspeakable catastrophe of your withdrawing your name or of making pledges to the Baltimore people that foreclose the question, without such an understanding on your part of the situation in New York as I think I have it in my power to give to you.

Awaiting your letter, and anticipating your election under conditions entirely welcome to yourself, unless you yourself make it impossible,

I am, as always,

Yours faithfully,

SETH LOW.

CITY OF NEW YORK,
Office of the Mayor,
May 22nd, 1896.

HON. DANIEL C. GILMAN,
New York City.

DEAR SIR:

Should you consent to accept the position of City Superintendent of the Schools of New York, to which I am confident you will be elected next Thursday, permit me to say that so far as lies in my power you will have the support of the Administration in carrying out the great work for which you are so eminently qualified.

Further than that, I wish to assure you that vacancies in the Board of Education will be filled only after consulta-

tion with, and with the advice of men in whom you will have implicit confidence.

Let me assure you that I am so thoroughly interested in carrying out this great work, and co-operating with you, that you may be assured that you will have my hearty co-operation during the balance of my term of office, which extends until the first of January, 1898.

Trusting that our efforts may be successful in this enterprise, I have the honor to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

W. L. STRONG,
Mayor.

102 East Thirtieth Street,
19 May.

MY DEAR MR. GILMAN:

The news which Dr. Butler brings of the possibility of your coming to New York as Superintendent of the schools warms the very cockles of my heart. I am rejoiced and elated beyond expression, and not I only, but all of those who have been fighting for school reform for all these years. With the prospect of you at the head of the schools I feel that the millennium is near — and not without some reason, for the intelligent public opinion which has been aroused and developed during the past years is of sufficient force to work a veritable renaissance if properly guided, and we only need a leader. With you and President Low working together the whole educational system of the city can be co-ordinated and perfected and raised to a level which even Germany has not attained. You will have public confidence and support to an unlimited degree, and the belief which everyone will have in your success will go far to make it certain. And such an opportunity has never before been offered, for pending the organization of the Greater New York, we are in a formative condition and the time is ripe for the development of a system of public education on the broadest and highest lines. I cannot imagine a greater public service than that which you will render, for it is not only vast in its immediate conception and operation but it will

extend to all parts of the country and its influence will be effectual for all time. Even the invaluable service which you have rendered to higher education is small in comparison to the service which you may now render through our common schools. They may be made the means of restoring municipal government to a safe and healthy condition, of removing the greatest danger which threatens the body politic, and the man who can make the schools what they should be — the nursery of good citizenship — will earn the gratitude of all posterity. When the time and the man are met all things are possible; this is the time and you are the man.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN B. PINE.

When the suggestion was first made, Mr. Gilman was asked to permit the use of his name with no further promise than that, if chosen, he would give the matter serious consideration. At the first meeting of the Board of Education, as was very natural, opposition was developed by the adherents of the old régime; and in the week that intervened before the next meeting ample time was furnished for the protest of Baltimore to make head. Although Mr. Gilman had not at all committed himself, it is not surprising that when he found it impossible to leave his post at Baltimore, those who had been working for the great result which they felt to be bound up with his acceptance of the New York office felt deeply disappointed. To explain his relation to the proposal Mr. Gilman, after having asked that his name be withdrawn, sent to the New York Board of Education the following statement:

On Monday of last week, May 18th, I received a friendly, unofficial request that I would allow my name to be presented to the consideration of the Board of Education in the city of New York, for the office of Superintendent of Schools. The suggestion took me absolutely by surprise;

but it was presented in such a way that I did not see how I could say "no." It was made apparent to me that the position referred to is, to-day, one of the most important positions, if not the most important, in American education. I still think so, and for these reasons.

The great city, soon to be "Greater New York," with its enormous outlays for schools, has secured, through the influence of a Committee of one hundred representative citizens, a new law permitting, in many respects, the re-organization of its system of public instruction. An opportunity like this for the introduction of modern methods, adapted to the requirements of all classes in the community, has never, so far as I am aware, occurred before. I should consider it a privilege and an honor to take a responsible part in a work of such magnitude and of such far-reaching influences, for surely the improvement of schools in the metropolis would be for the advantage of the whole country and the whole world. The studies and observations of a life devoted to the advancement of education could not be directed to a nobler object.

Among the problems that are now of paramount interest is the permanent separation of the public school system from the influences of parties, sects, and personal preferments. Again there is the world-wide question of our times — how can old methods of instruction be improved, and the training of the eye and hand be secured without the neglect of the printed page? How may morality and patriotism be promoted in schools that are governed by local self-government and are free from the control of all religious bodies? How may the different requirements of such diverse elements as constitute the population of a cosmopolitan city be wisely and economically supplied? What is the proper training for public school teachers? These and other problems will be solved in New York, primarily for its own advantage, but likewise also as an example to every other city of the land.

Such considerations led me to consent to the presentation of my name last Wednesday; no election followed, and action was postponed for a week and a day. In the interval that has followed, remonstrances, far stronger than I foresaw, have been made against my acceptance of the post.

This resistance culminated in the action of the authorities of the University, who informed me last Saturday, officially, in explicit terms, that my departure at this time from the post that I hold, would be regarded by them as "a calamity," and that I would "not be permitted to leave" this institution. This action was made public at once. Under these circumstances, it is my final and deliberate request that no further consideration be given to my nomination, and that my friends do not present my name.

No fear of work, no question of compensation, no dread of interference has affected a decision which is reached on grounds of public duty alone.

I ask leave to add an expression of gratitude to those who have advocated my appointment. I cannot tell them how much I value the honor. I would also express my admiration for the attitude of the journals of New York, which have stood as a united column for the improvement and advancement of the public school system, with suggestions that are full of promise for the future. In my belief, the prosperity of this country, material, intellectual and moral, depends upon the wisdom with which the public schools are maintained. When all the best forces of the metropolis are united for this end, hope and courage will everywhere prevail.

DANIEL C. GILMAN.

BALTIMORE, May 27, 1896.

There can be little doubt that the conflicting claims which Mr. Gilman was called upon to weigh against each other during this week of May, 1896, presented to his mind a degree of perplexity such as no other situation of his life ever produced; and while his final decision was really inevitable in view of all the facts, he must yet have felt that in declining the New York call he was missing a unique opportunity for such signal service as it had always been the aim of his life to render. But, however free he was from vanity — and few men have been more so — the episode can hardly have failed to give him deep satisfaction as a

recognition of the extraordinary ability and fidelity of his life-long service to the cause of education and to the public good. It would be difficult to imagine a more impressive tribute to the highest qualities of an organizer of education and a worker for the upbuilding of public character and public ideals than this urgent appeal to a man who had almost reached the time for laying down all burdens, that he should assume this great task as the man best qualified in the whole country to carry it to a triumphant conclusion.

CHAPTER VI

SOME LETTERS

IN DEVOTING a chapter to selections from Mr. Gilman's correspondence, it seems necessary to make some kind of explanation of the principle on which the selection was made. But it really can hardly be said to have been made on any plan. So far as regards letters written by Mr. Gilman, there will be found in this chapter scarcely any except those taken from his correspondence with his life-long friend, Andrew D. White; and this partly because Mr. Gilman was not specially a cultivator of the art of letter writing, and partly because the great mass of letters preserved in Mr. Gilman's files seem to present more opportunity, considering the limitations of space, for a reflection of his many-sided life than would have been likely to be afforded by the result of a systematic endeavor to collect letters from him which might have been preserved by his correspondents. As to the selection here made from among the vast number of letters in Mr. Gilman's collection, it would be difficult to indicate any principle that has governed it. In a general way the object in view has been to give such glimpses of events and personalities with which Mr. Gilman's life was connected as might in a way heighten the feeling of reality, and give suggestions of variety and richness that are difficult to convey in explicit narrative. Many of the letters are given because of the personal feelings or personal relations that they bring out; in some instances the interest of the letter lies chiefly in the writer or in the time; in others the letter as such is its own justification; and in still others the motive was simply to add variety. In short, any systematic plan

of sifting the correspondence would have led to a very different result; but it is hoped that a certain irresponsibility in making the choice will have better conduced to the purpose — that of contributing to the picture of Mr. Gilman's life — than a more orderly and systematic procedure would have done.

Of all of Mr. Gilman's many and enduring friendships, the strongest and most pervading one, from his college days to the close of his life, was that with Andrew D. White. A few of the letters that passed between these two attached friends and ardent fellow-workers will be given presently; but first it will be interesting to give some of Mr. White's recollections of Mr. Gilman as presented by two letters written by him to Mrs. Gilman in response to a request from her for some reminiscences of the life-long association of the two friends. The first is dated Ithaca, May 3, 1909, and is as follows:

I first saw Daniel just after my entrance at Yale in 1851, he being then a member of the Junior class and I a Sophomore. It was in the Linonian Society, which was then in all its glory, — the oldest and probably the best debating club in the United States. I was at the time awaiting the beginning of a debate with fear and trembling, for it was my first appearance in anything of the kind at Yale, and my anxiety was aggravated by the distress of a Freshman near me who also was to take part and who, as he rose to speak, was so nervous as to arouse the compassion of the whole audience. But just then there entered the room a committee to make a report, and as the matter was one of special privilege, the report was made at once. The chairman was announced as "Mr. Gilman." Large, quiet, kindly, entirely given to the business in hand, and without the slightest embarrassment in addressing the assembly, his appearance drew me at once out of my distress, both for myself and for the Freshman. All else was forgotten in my admiration for this member of the Junior class, and I at once conceived a

boyish admiration for him. He seemed to me a natural leader of men, earnest, sincere, vigorous, entering into the business in hand as a master. When the debate was resumed his presence seemed to have exercised a happy influence. There was diffused a better feeling: — an atmosphere in which I got through my own part of the discussion more easily than I had expected, and the Freshman made a good beginning of a series of discussions in which he rapidly improved and during which he began a career which was to end, years afterward, in the governorship of the state.

From time to time I saw Daniel, but the distinctions between classes at Yale were in those days closely drawn; so that, glad as I would have been to make his acquaintance, no path seemed open to it, until about a year later. Then it was that as editor of the Yale Literary Magazine, he came to announce that the committee on its prize medal had awarded it to me. Conversation followed; and so began our warm personal friendship, continued through my college course, through our Russian attachéship which followed it, when we went together to Europe, and since those days during more than fifty years, at home and abroad, — our last meeting being at Rome last May, when the old relations were renewed, in all the heartiness of our student days.

It was shortly after our arrival in England in 1854 that occurred the other incident regarding which you ask. The Minister of the United States to Russia, Governor Seymour of Connecticut, had been at the last moment detained in America, so that we, as his attachés, awaited his coming for some time in London. I gave myself up entirely to the usual round of sightseeing, but Daniel took his duties far more seriously, his main interest being in education and especially in its development among the poorer classes. This brought him into relations with some very prominent men, among them Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, with the result that they invited him to make one of the addresses at a mass meeting to be held at Manchester in behalf of a better school system. On the day appointed we went to Manchester together. Arriving at the station we separated, he going with his new-found friends, and I making my way at once to Free Trade Hall, where I found an immense assembly, but was

fortunate enough to secure one of the front seats in the gallery, not far from the stage. Looking about me over this great audience, I saw but one person I had ever seen before and recognized him on account of his color. He was Samuel R. Ward, famous throughout the state of New York as a negro preacher who had recently gained much applause in an abolition debate in New York. I noted too that next Mr. Ward sat a large, impressive looking gentleman in Quaker garb. Presently the speakers arrived, and, after eloquent addresses from Cobden and Bright, the chairman introduced "an American who has given special attention to the subject of public schools in the United States:— Mr. Gilman." To my great joy the young orator was received most heartily by the entire audience and at once launched into an admirable speech. He had made several points perfectly, and my pride in him was steadily rising, when, having alluded to the school system in our Northern states as free to all alike, he was interrupted. I had noted that Mr. Ward just at that moment said something to his Quaker neighbor, who thereupon rose and asked permission to put a question to the speaker. I knew instinctively what the question was to be, and in spite of my sympathy for the colored race felt a strong wish that Providence would then and there put an immediate end to the activity of the Reverend Mr. Ward. Out came the fatal query, in tones most benignant and bland, as follows: "Do I understand the gentleman to say that in the public schools of the American states free education is given alike to all children?"

"Certainly, Sir," said Daniel.

To this the Quaker rejoined, "Does the gentleman state that such education is given to white and black children alike?"

Now came a catastrophe. Daniel was obliged to explain, and anything like an explanation on that question and to that audience was deadly. The John Bull hatred of slavery was dominant at once. There were calls of *Yah! yah! yah!* (*Hear! hear! hear!*) with other cries of derision which caused a long interruption, but the chairman of the meeting, with Messrs. Cobden and Bright, having appealed to the feeling for British fair play, the tumult after

a time subsided and the speech was finished. Daniel bore himself admirably. At no time did he seem discouraged or dismayed. He quietly held his ground, made the explanation as well as was possible under the circumstances, and when he finished was treated with a fair amount of courtesy. He felt the interruption evidently much less than I did, and it abated not one jot of his earnestness in his further efforts in connection with Messrs. Cobden and Bright, who showed in various ways their high appreciation of him.

He already showed, even then, that straightforward earnestness and devotion to the public interest, which became more and more during his after life so marked a feature of his activity.

There were various striking evidences of this quality in him during the years that followed, and one which impressed me especially was his effort for technical education at the Sheffield Scientific School. He had come into Central New York, where I then was, and had discussed with a small party of gentlemen whom I brought together the claims of education in the arts and sciences relating to the great industries of our country. Up to that time the subject had never attracted me. Indeed, during my Senior year in college I regarded the studies of my contemporaries in the Sheffield Scientific School with a sort of contempt, — with wonder that human beings possessed of immortal souls should waste their time in work with blow pipes and test tubes. His argument opened for me new fields of thought, and it was to him, more by far than to any other person, that was due my interest in technical education at the founding of Cornell University.

This reminds me of a circumstance connected with his transfer from Berkeley and San Francisco to Baltimore. Our University at Ithaca had been established for a few years when there appeared one day at my office a deputation of trustees from the newly founded Johns Hopkins University. Of course I made it my duty to show them what we had done at Cornell thus far, taking them especially through the library, lecture rooms, laboratories, and, above all, the schools of civil and mechanical engineering. As we came out of Sibley College and were standing on the

stone platform from which a few months before Daniel had made his admirable address at the opening of that building, the chairman of the Johns Hopkins trustees, Judge Brown, in the presence of his colleagues, who were standing about us, asked me, with some solemnity, whether I knew of any person whom I could recommend for the presidency of their proposed university at Baltimore. To this question I at once replied that there was one man whom I could recommend thoroughly, President Gilman of the University of California. At this the whole company burst into a laugh which greatly disconcerted me; but Judge Brown most kindly came to the rescue. He informed me that on the same errand which brought them to Ithaca they had first visited Cambridge and, after looking through Harvard, had asked of President Eliot the same question which they had just asked me and had received the same answer which I had given; — that they had then visited Yale and, having been shown through its main buildings by President Porter, had received the same answer from him. Never was an answer more conscientiously given and never was expectation more completely fulfilled. The success of Dr. Gilman as President of Johns Hopkins I have always regarded as the most remarkable of its kind achieved during my time.

I remain, dear Mrs. Gilman,

Most respectfully and faithfully yours,

AND. D. WHITE.

In a second letter, written a month later, Mr. White says:

In the early days of my friendship with him a distinct impression was made upon me by the fact that whenever in Europe I followed him I was sure to find that wherever he had made any stay he had left friends who respected and admired him. This I noted first when I succeeded him as Attaché at St. Petersburg, where a number of the best people with whom I made acquaintance spoke to me in the highest terms regarding him. The same thing I found later when I settled down as a student at Berlin. Our Minister at that court, the late Governor Vroom of New Jersey, and his family, Privy Councillor Pertz, the eminent Historian and

Director of the Royal Library, the Explorer Lepsius, so renowned as a university professor and Egyptologist, and Professor Carl Ritter of the University, the most distinguished geographer of Europe, were among those who recalled him with admiration.

Very noteworthy was his visit to Berlin during the second period of my official life there. As you will remember, he then studied, in view of his duties at the Carnegie Institution, sundry great establishments in that city and its neighborhood in order to familiarize himself with various fields of scientific observation, and the impression then made by him upon the foremost German scholars and, indeed, upon leading men of affairs was such as to make me proud of him as an American.

Mention ought to be made of his relations with the Venezuelan Commission and his work in connection with it in 1895. The questions which had to be settled by us were many and knotty. His experience as a geographical student made his work especially valuable, and his influence is to be seen throughout the whole fourteen volumes of historical and geographical work which the Commission furnished to the Arbitration Tribunal at Paris.

Throughout our whole career in connection with education we were in close sympathy. His life as professor at the Sheffield Scientific School, and as President, first, of the University of California, and later of Johns Hopkins University corresponded during over thirty years with mine at the University of Michigan and at Cornell, and though our personal meetings, on account of the distance between our posts, were, during part of this period, rare, our relations remained very close and our intercourse was certainly of great value to me. I regard his work at Johns Hopkins as peculiarly original and valuable. He rendered a great service by it to every other institution of advanced learning throughout the whole country. Two things I especially admired in him, — first, his wisdom in discussing new departures in education, and secondly, his insight and foresight as shown in his nominations to professorships. At various times, as notably at the opening of our Sibley College of Mechanical Engineering and of the new library building at

Cornell University, he gave memorable addresses: — memorable because he discussed living subjects as a master. But the best discussions between us were, as the Germans say, “under four eyes,” when, with the old feeling of mutual interest and thorough friendship, we took up in private conversation the problems with which we had to grapple.

As to his career in connection with the Carnegie Institution for Research I can say little from direct knowledge, for the reason that during his presidency I was absent from the country. I can only testify that during the visit above referred to, in the interest of that institution, — to the various laboratories, lecture rooms and personages foremost in German research, — he showed a remarkably just sense of the worth of the work to be done and of the main lines to be taken in it.

Our last meeting at Rome during the closing days of May last year is to me a precious remembrance. He seemed to me as kindly and in every way as delightful as ever, but evidently somewhat weary. His mind seemed perfectly clear, but I thought him slightly depressed and easily fatigued. Vividly comes back to me the day passed by us together among the more recent excavations in the Roman Forum, especially those which had brought to view the House of the Vestals. How beautiful appear to me now the hours when we all dined together on the twenty-fourth of May — he so cheery and kindly, — sitting under the trees in the garden of the Quirinale Hotel during that lovely afternoon! He seemed to me as joyous and hearty as in our college days, and as much interested in Italian matters as at any period in his life. I have a feeling of gratitude that those hours — the last we were destined to pass together — were in every way so delightful and that they deepened the happy impressions made upon me by our college life and continued during all the after years.

I remain most respectfully and sincerely yours,

AND. D. WHITE.

Before proceeding to the miscellaneous correspondence, there is given below a selection from the letters that passed

between Mr. Gilman and Mr. White in the course of their half-century of friendship:

NEW YORK, October 23, 1873.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

Your long letter addressed to me at California reached me here unopened last week, but I have not had a quiet hour in which to answer it, for since it came I have been in New Haven, Cambridge, Easton, Philadelphia, and Princeton. I hope to see you soon and talk over all the subjects which the letter involves; but some things I am eager to say in writing, though I may repeat them orally. I am surprised and sorry at what you say of yourself, surprised and pleased at what you say of me. I regard your expression of good will as the partial estimate of a friendship of twenty years, — but I regard it also as one of the most grateful testimonials that I ever received. But, my good friend, I could not take your place and fill it. You are so identified with the whole life of the University at Ithaca, with its conception, development and accomplishments, that stronger men than I am might well hesitate about accepting the post if you should quit it. You write like one who is tired, who has need of the respite which you have fairly earned. You ought to be freed from some of the perplexing labors devolved upon you, but you ought to have the opportunity, the honor, and the satisfaction for many years to come of guiding the enterprise which you have created. Why not modify the duties of your office so that you become a sort of honorary Chancellor and put upon somebody else the innumerable little things of the Presidential office? Don't think of any "successor" for years to come. More leisure you ought to have. Your fine literary abilities and your long studies in history qualify you to write a work which will live, live as long as the University, and I confess that as one of your friends I should rejoice in seeing you thus engaged. But is not this compatible with continued guidance of the University? I shall see you soon — so good-bye for the present.

Ever cordially yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

NEWPORT, R. I., August 9, 1880.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have been spending a Sunday here with Mrs. Lieber, and the evening was devoted to the examination of Dr. Lieber's diaries and correspondence.

Much as I have known in respect to his public life, and much as I have read of his miscellaneous writings, I was amazed to learn how much there is on record of that which has not been revealed to the outside world, — so much that is noble and patriotic and humane on the one hand, so much that is racy and entertaining on the other hand in respect to all that was occurring in the wide field which he surveyed.

Mrs. Lieber told me of her application to you with reference to the preparation of a biography, and of your guarded response. It occurred to me that if you could see as I have done the sources of information, and especially if you could see how beautifully the most interesting parts of the material have been already selected, translated, transcribed, and arranged in large envelopes chronologically by the judgment and skill of Mrs. Lieber and her younger associates, you would feel that the delaying parts of the work were already done, and that it was now only necessary to give the final form to these memorials, and to portray in a historic spirit the relation of this remarkable man to the times in which he lived. Here for example is his original well worn diary kept during the Waterloo campaign, a most interesting letter written to his parents from Marseilles just as he was going to Greece with a band of compatriots, memoranda of his prison life, letters from Niebuhr, Humboldt, Mittermaier, &c., &c., — perhaps 1000 letters to Sumner, a large number of very important letters from Horace Binney, beginning with the Dred Scott case and continuing through the war. All this is so completely arranged that it is very easy for Mrs. Lieber or Miss Wood to lay the hand upon whatever paper may be desired. The two volumes of miscellaneous writings are nearly through the press. They will not contain his manifold letters to the press during our Civil War, — these being reserved for use in the biography. With your library at command, with your vig-

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cross pen with your historical knowledge, and with your sympathy for the sympathies of Dr. Lieber and your acquaintance with so many of his political principles, I can hardly think of any task you can undertake which will compare with the preparation of this biography in the pleasure you will yourself take and the good you will do to young men who live a free and noble public life. Europeans as well as Americans.

Ever cordially yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

NANTUCKET, MASS., July 24, 1885.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

The papers of course keep us closely informed of all your public doings. Last evening just before receiving your note of the 26th, I read your letter to the *N. Y. Times*. To your friends, generally, as to me, I presume no such vindication was requisite: but "Justice" gave you an opportunity which you have seized to put the record of twenty years in the most clear and intelligible form. Your statements seem to me unanswerable. Two things have impressed me strongly in these last weeks:—the absurdity of charging those who are called upon to manage an institution with carrying out their own views, when they are acting in complete accordance with their chartered prerogatives; and second, the absurd usurpations of a dozen or two alumni, arrogating to themselves the selection of a President. Vassar alumnæ I see are now to follow suit and *protest*. So it will be when Porter gives up: we shall hear from our Yale brethren. Eliot is now under fire from the newspapers. The fact appears to be that college government is in a transition state. We have broken away from the restricted notions of the past; we have not yet learned how to adjust ourselves to the broader domains in which we are now walking. Was it not the first President of Harvard who lost his place because he was unsound on Infant Baptism? And was it not one of the earliest of Yale rectors who was unseated by his leaning toward episcopacy? You have had twenty years of official life and come to its close loved,

honored and *retained*, by trustees, faculty and students.
Well done is the plaudit to which you are entitled.

Ever yours,
D. C. G.

NANTUCKET, MASS., Aug. 1, 1885.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have just read your speech in nomination of C. K. Adams. Again your critics have given you an opportunity which you have been quick to seize, and you have had a chance to describe your successor as you could not have done if he had been elected without opposition. I think your speech ought to set at rest *forever* the insinuations of plagiarism. It was very mean to revive them, — when he had been already cleared of such charges, — but as they were brought into such prominent notice in New York a complete refutation was called for. As usual, nobody calls on *you* without a response. You draw the picture of a very competent man. Such a career, endorsed by those who have watched it from the beginning, is the best possible augury of future success. You are calling one who has been tried. All your remarks about “being known” are excellent. The limitations of fame are so obvious that it is strange to see how wide report is valued more than good report. I “jumped” to find my own name mentioned, when the qualifications of a college president were spoken of. As I had read your previous sentences, I had been appalled with a consciousness of my own deficiencies. It is so easy to form an ideal, or to approve that which others have delineated, — so very hard to come near to its attainment. However my wife says “such allusions from an old friend are *most* gratifying” — and I find myself, as usual, taking exactly her view! . . .

BALTIMORE, June 12, 1887.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

On my return from Annapolis yesterday, where I had been as a member of the Board of Visitors to the U. S. Naval Academy, I found the note which Mr. Burr was so kind as to send me in your behalf. My impulse was to go

to Ithaca at once, after receiving your telegram, — that I might be near when the last tributes of affectionate respect were shown to that which is mortal, — but I was already announced as the one who would address the cadets at their graduation, and my absence would have put others to serious inconvenience; — so I must in this way express the sympathy which I would rather show by signs without words. How well I remember your wedding and your wedding journey, and how often from that day to this in her house and in ours, and in various other places, I have met your dear wife with ever increasing admiration and regard. My sister, Mrs. Thompson, and my wife, who have had even better opportunities than I for observing the rare qualities of her mind and heart have counted Mrs. White among the chosen few who are above all praise. It will be hard indeed for you to bear this loss, — but take comfort, my dear friend, in the recollection of all the opportunities you have shared together, and of all the support she has given you in your manifold and arduous duties. Her sweet influence will never forsake you, as her sweet smile will never be forgotten. Be assured too that your friends are sorrowing with you, and are recalling the tender recollections of one who was loved by all who knew her. God be with you, dear Andrew, and spare you for many more good services to your fellow men.

Yours with most affectionate sympathy,
D. C. G.

BALTIMORE, March 3, 1888.

MY DEAR ANDREW:

I have received both your notes from Washington, and have only delayed writing to you in the uncertainty whether or not I could go with you on a tour southward. I am to meet our Ex. Com. this afternoon, and if the hour is favorable I shall consult them, and when I meet you next Wednesday at Mr. Hubbard's I shall be able to report. I will not delay, however, the sending of the note herein enclosed, which has just come to me from Newport. I went on with my wife last week and spent Sunday with her and her sisters, leaving her there for a leisure visit. She will come home

early in the week after next and I cannot go on any long journey in the mean while. She and my daughters both miss your pleasant company and we all wish we could have a few days more from you before you go Northward. I hope you are not getting tired with your work. You are often in my thoughts and I know how lonely you are even when you are most before the public, but your devotion to the service of others, and your willingness to spend and be spent for their sake, command my constant admiration and I have never been so affectionately drawn to you, not even in our boyish days, as I have been during our recent intercourse. I have been through the same deep waters which you have had to enter and my heart goes out to you, all the while, in sympathy and love.

Your old and devoted friend,

D. C. G.

OBAN, July 22, 1892.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

Read the newspaper slip that I enclose, — then hear my tale! I could not get a morning paper as I left Balloch, a few hours ago, but as we sailed up that most charming of lakes, Loch Lomond, — ("we" being "Prue and I") I saw on the deck a newspaper, and with true American zeal, I picked it up. It was open and the first words that met my eye were "Andrew D. White"! I read the rest with great satisfaction. I hope it is true; I hope that you are pleased, and that you mean to accept this new honor. *If* it is, and *if* you are, and *if* you want a young attaché, fairly well educated, married, with a moderate knowledge of French and German, and with a slight experience of diplomatic life in St. Petersburg, — why, write to me at once and I will give you the name and address of your old friend G. My wife will not allow me to close without a message of particular regards and congratulations from her to you, — and we both send our sincere regards to Mrs. White. I hope we may meet *en route*. Our plan is to spend the next two months in the British Isles and to sail for N. Y. by the Etruria toward the end of September.

Affectionately yours,

D. C. G.

February 1, 1893.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

Your welcome letter reached me in due time; but I have had no heart to reply, for a succession of sorrows has befallen us. First and chief and ineffaceable is the sorrow for the death of my eldest sister, the widow of Dr. Joseph P. Thompson. She was spared much suffering. Not even the anticipation of death disturbed her life-long serenity. A slight cold, a few days' confinement to her room, a cheerful good-night to her son, the physician with whom she dwelt, — and she passed beyond our sight, — one of the brightest, most loving and most sympathetic natures that ever walked the earth. What kindred natures she has met in heaven! Then came the death of President Hayes, who was our guest not many weeks ago, and with whom as a Slater trustee I have had much to do since he left the presidency. Then Phillips Brooks died and the whole country has mourned as it has not mourned since the death of Lincoln, — everybody feeling "I have lost a friend." There have been other deaths of public men and of personal friends besides — so that the funeral bell has seemed to be perpetually tolling. But the newspapers have made you aware of all this and perhaps I ought not to have even made these references. . . .

The foregoing pages, my dear friend, were written many days ago, and I have suffered them to lie upon my table for a mood of a more cheerful character to come in its turn. . . .

Your glimpses of life in St. Petersburg awaken many delightful memories, and I wish it were possible for me to renew them, *visually*, while you are in a station of so much dignity. Please remember me very kindly to Mr. Prince, and tell him that on further acquaintance with the friend whom I introduced to him in 1854, I can endorse all that I then said and add much more of commendation. I should also like to be remembered to Mrs. Hutton, of whose prosperous and happy life I am very glad to hear. I wonder if her husband is of the Winans connection. There is here a Mr. Hutton who belongs to the Winans-Whistler connection, at least by marriage.

Your view over the Neva, and out upon the fortress, I can recall without any effort and the looks of our old home

on the 6th line, Vas. Ostroff. Tell Mrs. White that she would not have escaped winter, if she had remained in this country. We have had since Christmas continued and severe storms. Mrs. Gilman joins me in a message of the kindest regards to you both, and I am

Ever sincerely yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

Ending Feb. 25, 1893.

December 24, 1893.

DEAR ANDREW:

It is a long while ago since you and I arrived at 2 Norfolk St., Strand, on a Christmas Evening and listened to those chimes which would not let us sleep and after the frugal breakfast of Dickens our host, found our way in the morning to Westminster and in the afternoon to St. Paul's. How vividly I recall all the scenes.

You sent me not long ago a reminder from Auerbach's cellar and I met Dr. Macgill soon afterwards in New York, and now and then we see your name in the papers, — and so in one way and another I follow your foreign experiences. I wish I could call on you in St. Petersburg! Hardly any of our old acquaintances can be there, — but some I know you meet and to such as remember me I should like to send a friendly greeting. All goes well and quietly with us here.

I fancy that you slip away from your diplomatic duties to see Mrs. White and your daughters in this holiday time. Wherever you may be, let this bear to you and to them the sincere regards of

Your old chum,

D. C. G.

January 5, 1896.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

Your note of January 3 was awaiting my return from Washington last evening. To-day's newspapers contain a semi-official account of our brief proceedings yesterday, — substantially correct. We have set inquiries agoing for rooms, map, and chief clerk, or secretary. Everybody

seemed to be in favor of beginning at once our enquiries, and I heard no prediction as to when they will end. Nor was there any intimation that it would be worth while for a member of the Commission to go to Venezuela. I did hear it said — but not by any one of our colleagues — that the moral effect would be good if some or all the commissioners should go to London, en route for The Hague and Madrid in search of the most exact data. It has occurred to me that Harrisse, the Columbus researcher, would be a keen discoverer of documents hidden in foreign archives. I think we should be much strengthened as a commission if we could enlist the services as Secretary of a man of ability and distinction; but if we cannot, then we ought to have a Chief Clerk, of great intelligence and of clerical habits and aptitudes.

What a good fortune brings us together once more! It seems but a little while, just at the icy season of the year, that we were with "the Governor" at Queen's Hotel. You have ever since been in the diplomatic circle and I have been out of it, but now as then, I am

Sincerely yours,
D. C. G.

April 16, 1896.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have just seen your book, and it is what I knew it would be, a monument of learning and industry. The preface I have read, and I expect to go through both volumes, from cover to cover, in the approaching vacation, — unless the Venezuelan perplexities engross all our time; and if they do, I shall have many a chance to talk over the work with you. Most of the articles have come under my eye, as they have appeared in their original form, — and I know their drift. Probably I lean more than you do toward the side of conservative expressions; but I rejoice as heartily and as unqualifiedly as you do in the advancement of science and in the arrest of bigotry and superstition. It will be interesting to watch the reception of your book, and you will doubtless meet all sorts of comments commendatory,

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non-committal, controversial. But I do not believe that your array of facts can be controverted; and I am sure that nothing could be finer or more conciliatory toward those who differ from you than your admirable preface.

Yours most sincerely,

D. C. GILMAN.

December 14, 1898.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

Our good friend Mr. Gardiner Hubbard was carried to the grave yesterday. He died early on Saturday morning, after an attack which may have continued for two weeks, of acute diabetes; but so far as I can learn he suffered little pain, — only intense weariness and weakness. So little anxiety was felt about the nearness of his end that within two days, I was told, an afternoon reception was given by Mrs. Bell for one of his grand-daughters. Twice during his illness he dictated notes to us, but we did not see him. His incessant and unselfish activities at length were exhausted and he reached a peaceful end, in his own room, at Twin Oaks, surrounded by those most dear to him. Within a very few hours before his death he was able to drive out.

The funeral was attended yesterday afternoon at the Church of the Covenant opposite his town house, and the throng of noteworthy people who were present indicated the variety and breadth of his associations. It is a deep personal loss to me, like that of a dear kinsman, and I am sure you have for his memory the same affectionate regard that I entertain.

With Christmas greetings to Mrs. White and you,

Ever yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

NORTH-EAST HARBOR, MAINE,

July 6, 1899.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

We watch your doings day by day, — always with admiration, rarely with more pleasure than we have to-day in

reading of your doings at Delft on the Fourth of July. The thought was a fine one, — to lay a wreath upon the tomb of Grotius, and how admirably the thought has been carried into history. You were the very one, among all our countrymen, to propose such a demonstration and to see it made complete. The papers give us but "a suggestion" of your address, but we shall have it all, I trust, in a pamphlet form. It would have repaid me for a voyage to Europe to hear your voice, on such a site, on such a day, on such a theme!

Please give our kindest regards to Mrs. White and to Mr. and Mrs. Low.

Always faithfully yours,
D. C. GILMAN.

June 4, 1901.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

Your note surprised and delighted me. No better statement could be made of the possibilities in Washington. Not a word of alteration or omission is called for.

Of course you can count upon my coöperation to the utmost of my powers. . . .

Curiously enough a Board of Trustees has been instituted in Washington to promote the opening of the museums, libraries, etc. to students, and yesterday I was made chief officer of the Board. There are no funds, buildings, regulations or laws, — only *ideas* to be worked out. The movement, which has the approval of capital men in Washington and throughout the country, can, I think, be brought into great service, — but just how, I do not yet see.

My wife and I are going to N. E. Harbor, toward the end of June, and have had no plans for going abroad. When we met our friend last winter he invited us to come and make him a visit, but nothing was said as to time. We should not be at liberty to accept such an invitation, unless it were made definite.

If it should be renewed and you will go at the same time, and think it important enough for me to cross the ocean, I see no reason why I should not take a steamer in the

middle of July. The opportunity seems to me of supreme importance and I would be most glad to help in the development of such a plan. If you wish to cable me, address "Gilversity, Baltimore."

With the most sincere regard, I am
Your wondering friend,
D. C. G.

November 1, 1902.

MY LIFE-LONG FRIEND:

You do not need a word from me to assure you of the admiration, the respect, and the sincere affection of your old companion on the voyage of life, — all that, you have in increasing affluence as the years roll on. But I must welcome you to the band of Xes and wish for you, when out of office, increasing health, honor and happiness. You have earned a period of tranquillity and repose, and I trust that you will enjoy it as much as you have enjoyed activity and service.

Affectionately yours,
D. C. GILMAN.

ANN ARBOR, Feb. 27, 1859.

MY DEAR DANIEL:

Your letter came — I am ashamed to think how many weeks since. Many thanks and hearty for its freight of the kindly spirit of the old times.

The statement of your plans and work interested me deeply, though I knew what you were about already, as I had watched your articles.

You have chosen a noble field — one of whose existence few among us have any inkling, one which Ritter first showed me and toward which I have looked with longing eyes ever since. And I have to do a little at it myself, for there is ever present to me Dr. Arnold's dictum that to teach History without Geography is impossible. Some of my students do work which would delight you.

Sorry was I to miss you in N. Y., would have chased you

had not my time been so scrimped. I had but two days, and every moment of that time was employed in laying out an appropriation for books in my department.

We have all been greatly interested at the news of your windfall at Yale and all are still very curious to know how the conflicting statements regarding the amount are to be harmonized. What is the truth of the matter?

You will also be well pleased to know that, in addition to much good luck during the year, our institution has so weathered the storms of demagogues and devotees to Common Schools and nothing else, that about ten days since the Legislature by good majority in each house remitted forever the interest on the claim of 100,000 dollars held by the State against the University. Our Regents will therefore without doubt organize the long desired Law School at their March meeting. The Professors will probably be two of our chief men, Felch and Campbell. F. has been Governor, U. S. Senator, U. S. Claim Commissioner in California and is, I think, an alumnus of Harvard. Both are noble men and fine lawyers, not demagogues or pettifoggers.

We are all alive, and I think every man of us feels new vigor at seeing the College grow so nobly. My own work is considerable, but I like it, have two classes a day in History and am scratching away with all energy possible on my lectures to the Seniors which begin next week. They begin with the Revival of Learning and the Reformation, and I have worked at them more conscientiously than ever at anything else.

But one branch of our professional labor is not so well known in the East. We have to bring the institution in contact with the people and make it influence the state. Consequently all of us who have anything to say make it a rule to say it throughout the state. The greater number of my Friday evenings are given to lectures in towns big and little from one side of the Peninsula to the other. Three weeks ago I held forth in Detroit, two weeks ago in this city, night before last in Toledo, O., and my three Friday evenings to come are already engaged. Our President, who is not only a fine reasoner and excellent scholar but a most effective off-hand speaker, is out among the people about twice a

week. Our Professor of Latin is out, often telling the multitude about Rome, etc.; our Professor of Greek occasionally fires a shot at the opposition to classical studies, our Professor of Natural History edits the *State Teachers' Journal* and gets access for us to every school and teacher, etc. So we go, and though you might think it a bore and a lessening of dignity, we think ourselves all the better for it. I could recount some droll experiences. Tell Charlie Tiffany when you see him that I was quartered on a strong Methodist family in the western corner of the state, was *asked to say grace*, and that summoning up Charlie's good words on such occasions, I did it with considerable unction. The University, you know, must not be allowed to suffer in reputation for want of a grace before meat.

Work in our buildings is progressing. Gas fitters are preparing for better illumination. Carpenters and glaziers are getting galleries and cases ready for our new collections, and when you visit us *a month or two hence*, you will see some things to delight you.

Ah, my Daniel, your room stands vacant here yet. Why can't you and Fisher and Charlie run out this way? Express trains and night-cars have made a mere nothing of the trip. My neighbors go to N. Y. or Boston with as little trouble as they go out to tea.

By the way, we are trying to rival you in Art matters. A movement is set on foot to have in the University a marble statue by Rogers, our Ann Arbor sculptor, now at Rome. This is a goodly town for amateurs in music, and so last Tuesday we had a concert which brought 130 or 140 dollars. They are to have another, besides tableaux, etc., until they realize enough. Rogers will give us all his part, as he is anxious to have some work of his represent him in his old home.

But, my dear Daniel, once more let me urge you to come out here. We are really nicely situated, with plenty of accommodation for visitors and great longing to see them. How is Fisher? Recommend this trip as good for his health. Remember me kindly to old friends and believe me

Most truly yours,

A. D. WHITE.

NEW YORK CITY, March 26, 1874.

MY DEAR DANIEL:

Taking up the *Post* last night, I saw that the Philistines had been upon you, but that good men and true were on your side.

One of the most curious things in this country is the mania among "Bohemians" for blackguarding any one connected with a state educational institution, especially if that institution be called a university.

Dr. Tappan used to have showers of this dirt thrown over him; so did I at Ann Arbor, and I am receiving the full amount now, being shown up in all the moods and tenses of lying and abuse.

So I trust that you will not be discouraged at this experience.

I have been curious to know what Bishop Peck accomplished for his rival "University" in California. How was it?

We have just had a nice little piece of good fortune. Certain leading gentlemen of Jewish birth have endowed a non-resid'l Professorship, giving it the interest of \$20,000.00, under title of the Professorship of Hebrew and Oriental Literature and History — Prof. to reside say three to six mo. and lecture. We shall elect Felix Adler, Ph.D., graduate of Columbia in excellent standing and more recently of Heidelberg, whose lectures here have attracted much attention.

Mr. McGraw has been making some additional gifts and so has Mr. Sage. Our Chapel is really a beauty — a gem.

Have you ever thought any more regarding [the] subject of my former letter and conversation with you? Let me know how your mind is working on that and kindred subjects.

I am making a long stay here on account of my wife's health. Should you write within two or three weeks after receiving this, your letter will doubtless reach me as above.

I am enjoying such scraps of leisure as I can get in some literary and historical work which may see the light some day. I enjoy nothing so much, and only wish I had more time for it.

Europe seems still afar off. I long for a run on the other side, but new cares arise. . . .

I remain

Yours most truly,

AND. D. WHITE.

PARIS, July 24, 1878.

MY DEAR DANIEL:

Thanks for your letter of July 6th. It has given me very great pleasure. I regret that duties here prevented my seeing the accounts of the doings of my class to which you refer. *En revanche*, Smalley and I celebrated the 25th Anniversary of our Tontine Fourth of July Dinner, and of our Commencement, as well as we were able.

Exposition matters are going on well. My work is not at all onerous, but very interesting. As a sample of it, take the morning when your letter arrived. It was passed in breakfasting and looking over papers with Monsieur Jules Simon, the President of our Group, and other associates. My duties bring me into pleasant relations with a very large number of distinguished men, and as I am in roomy quarters here — the apartment formerly occupied by our Minister, General Noyes — I have been able to return some of their social kindnesses. It is, on the whole, one of my most agreeable experiences, and I regret that you are not here. Sir Charles Reed, Forel, Dr. Gregory, Marin and Fouret I meet from time to time.

You are kind in wishing me to stay away from home until sundry literary projects are carried out. Would it were possible! But my tickets are taken from Southampton on the steamer "Main" for September 10th. and then will come the old harness again. Still, I hope to get some time to carry out the projects discussed with you.

Professor Fiske is here as my guest, and two or three other of our men are abroad, to say nothing of sundry students. Last evening I had our old friend Professor Blake, now of Providence, to dine, and afterward Professor Lyman rode out with us. So you see that we keep up our American relations.

By the way, I have been rather interested of late in the Winchell imbroglio at Nashville. What an idea of a university those trustees must have! What was tragical in Galileo's case is farcical in this. It appears that Bishop McTyeire took great pains to show to Winchell that there was no similarity between the two cases. Neither of them was aware that the Bishop used precisely the same argument to Winchell — indeed, virtually, *verbatim* — which Cardinal Bellarmin used to Galileo. Bellarmin told Galileo that his ideas "vitiated the plan of salvation"; McTyeire told Winchell that his ideas "were contrary to the plan of redemption." You see how great minds run in the same channel. What a theory of a University it is, to be sure; and yet that is what our opponents all over the country seem to be struggling for. Very hard to see that the world progresses any, if, instead of being in the hands of a Roman Catholic Cardinal, we are to fall into the hands of a Methodist Bishop. The real advance is in the fact that they have no longer any power to oppose us with physical torture. In view of the spirit shown, and the articles written, against Winchell for his very moderate tendency to evolution doctrines, it would seem that the absence of torture is not due to any lack of will in the matter. I have written to Winchell for the entire facts, congratulating him on his conduct, which was very manly, and have a letter written to McTyeire making a similar request. I have not yet decided to send this. I want the facts for my new book.

Winchell is really superior to his reputation among scientific men. I have long known this. You must be aware of a tendency among the later generation of scientists to underrate everything except minute experiments or observation, or what they call "original research." I am not at all satisfied that they are entirely right. Indeed, I am convinced that they are in many respects wrong. There is a very striking remark in one of the last chapters of Buckle's first volume on this point, where he speaks of the piling-up of the results of experiment and observation in this age; and of the painful lack of deeply thoughtful men to group these results, and bring order out of chaos. Winchell seems to me, to some extent, one of these men. He has

been fettered by his attempt to "reconcile Religion and Revelation"; but some of his work, I think, is valuable. Why not give him a chance to say his say in one of your lecture rooms? It would have an admirable effect in many ways. If we could afford it, I would not hesitate a moment.

All here join in most hearty regards to your family and yourself, and I remain

Yours very truly,

AND. D. WHITE.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
ST. PETERSBURG, January 16, '94.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND:

Your kind letter of December 24 finds me here just after my return from Dresden, where I had passed the holidays with my family.

Xmas Eve was passed with them, and more than once I thought and spoke of our arrival at 2 Norfolk St., Strand, and of our hearing the bells, and our going out late at night to see if we could at least catch the outlines of Westminster Abbey against the sky and of our returning fully satisfied, though we had gone East instead of West, and seen only the outline of St. Paul's; it always comes back to me very vividly.

My stay in Dresden was of course most pleasant; there is an agreeable English and American colony, and some Germans were very good to us.

As to St. Petersburg: your old friend Mr. Prince always asks about you, but what perhaps will interest you most is the visit I recently made to our old quarters on the Vassily Ostrof; Mrs. Hutton, whom we formerly knew as "Annette" and who is now an elderly, kindly, gray-haired lady, living very comfortably in a nice large house on the Island, conducted me to the old place, having arranged with the Russian gentleman, who now occupies it, to receive me. This he did in the best Russian style, putting the house at my disposition, and telling me to take all the time I wished in the various rooms.

So I lingered about an hour, recalling, with Annette, the old scenes.

There was the little parlor where I used to sit with the Governor on our return from various places late in the evening, and discuss Thomas Jefferson; there was the big dining room where I have seen at table some very curious scenes, and at the end of it the niche where stood the organ on which I used to practice.

Above all there was the Chancellery, where the work of the Legation was carried on. As I sat in it, one scene especially arose in my memory; there upon the wall formerly hung a map of the United States; I was wont to gaze upon it and dream of the greatness of the country and its future development. One day I said to Erving, "What a future there is in that map, — the one spot is slavery, and I would be glad to see it blotted out, if it cost fifty thousand lives to do it." Erving, usually so gentle, was horrified and gave me a most earnest rebuke. Little did he or I think that slavery was to be blotted out at a cost of close upon a million of lives and ten thousand millions of treasure, and that within ten years from that day. The recollection of it all almost overcame me. There, too, was the corner in which I did a mass of reading, embracing Gibbon, Alison, Guizot, Haxthausen, &c., &c., which has had so great an influence on my whole life since.

Speaking of the Chancellery, I remember how for weeks Erving devoted himself there to putting into order the Legation Archives, and I sometimes go to certain drawers in the book-cases of the room in which I am now sitting and glance over some of the papers he then arranged so neatly, just to recall old times.

But I spare you more reminiscences for the present; when we meet I shall not let you off so easily.

It is within the possibilities or even probabilities that I may settle down to do some deferred work next winter at Florence; I will be glad to know if you are coming over next summer or autumn.

Please present to Mrs. Gilman and your daughters assurances of my sincere respect and regard, in which Mrs. White would cordially join, were she here, and I remain

Ever yours faithfully,

AND. D. WHITE.

ANN ARBOR, Nov. 22, 1900.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT:

I am greatly surprised to receive from you the newspaper announcement of your intended resignation. Do you and Dwight and Munger and Fisher really mean to crowd me out of my chair by your example and by the statement that at seventy one ought to decamp? Really it begins to look so, especially as I am seventy-one.

I am sure no one but you sees any reason for your dropping your work, except the most excellent one that you are ready to take life a little more easily, and you have well earned the right to do that.

No one of us has done so much as you to make an epoch in graduate work in America. I have always been proud that I had a part, however humble, in persuading your Trustees to bring you from California to Baltimore.

I confess I have debated much during the past year whether I ought not to take the resolve you have taken. But the way has not been fairly open. My health is perfect. But there are days when the release from the multitudinous cares of my post would be welcome. I congratulate you and somewhat envy you the luxury, not of being idle, — for that neither you nor I can be, — but of doing what you please for your own edification and for the good of mankind. May your afternoon sun shine undimmed!

Yours in septuagenarian bonds,

JAMES B. ANGELL.

November 21, 1900.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

What does it mean that such a lively young fellow as you should announce his intention to resign? Is it possible that it is a quarter of a century since I witnessed your inauguration as President of Johns Hopkins! What a grand work you have accomplished since that day, everywhere, the world over, recognized as of immense service to the cause of progress and right methods in education. Thus far I had written when the slip you sent me from the *Sun* came in. I have read it with interest, and although familiar with the

facts stated, am more than ever impressed with what has been attained through your energy, intelligence and disinterested devotion. It has been my privilege to have your friendship during almost half a century, and I rejoice that you have rounded out the "three score and ten" with such marvellous results attained.

You must, I am sure, look back with profound satisfaction on such a successful and brilliant career. May you long live to enjoy your well earned rest and may God's blessing be with you and yours.

Faithfully your old friend,

GEO. J. BRUSH.

35 BRYANSTONE SQUARE,
LONDON, W., April 10.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

It was a great pleasure to have news of you all again; for I am often thinking of you, and wondering how you all thrive. . . .

Our weather continues very stormy, and must till somehow this Irish question gets settled. It reminds me sometimes of your Slavery question from 1850 to 1860; not that the issues are similar, but that there is the same general admission that something must be done, and the same difficulty in approaching agreement as to what, with the same increasing intensity of feeling. At present the Coercion Bill has heightened this intensity among the Liberals; and we have had fears of scenes compromising our whole parliamentary system. Individually, I feel clearer than at first that the Home Rule solution is the right one; but most of one's private friends, at Oxford, Cambridge and elsewhere are in the opposite or (so-called) "Unionist" camp. What is the real state of American opinion? We hear very different accounts. Mr. Gladstone believes you are all with him; but this I venture greatly to doubt.

I trust the J. H. U. continues to grow and thrive as it was doing in 1883; that series of Political and Economic Studies is admirable; we have nothing here to compare with it.

My sisters are in Devonshire, or they would join in kindest remembrances to your wife and elder daughter; pray give mine to them and Lizzie also. My brother is going to U. S. shortly on business. I hope he may be able to go to Baltimore and see you. I write from my constituency, to which I am devoting a short Easter holiday.

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BRYCE.

March 18/97.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

I ought to have written long ago to thank you for your letter in reply to Lord Acton's questions; but I have been expecting to receive it back from him; he has however kept it for reference. He was grateful for it, saying it had been most serviceable to him.

It has given us all here the greatest relief that the Venezuela trouble has been referred to arbitration; and I feel sure that your Commission has answered a good purpose not only in preventing further complications till an arbitration scheme could be settled, but also in collecting and sifting so many data of importance. If you have a copy of your Report and relative documents in print I shall be greatly obliged for one, as you kindly offer to let me have it; but of course you will consider this wish as coming second to any official or quasi-official claim on you. We are hoping that after all the General Arbitration Treaty may be ratified by the Senate. The behaviour of the jingoes there has made a painful impression, not that we do not discount jingoism abroad as we do at home, but that it looks as if they thought there was a large element in the U. S. to which they could play. We are all well here in London, but my wife's father is seriously ill, which causes us much anxiety. Please give our kindest remembrances to your wife and daughters. Is there any chance of your coming over this year?

Always truly yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

Jan. 7/9, HINDLEAP LODGE,
FOREST ROW, SUSSEX.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

Your volume of *University Problems* has just reached me, and I want to thank you most heartily for it. I shall read it with the greatest interest, and doubtless find much light bearing on those problems which occupy us here as well as on those to which you more directly address yourself in the U. S. A. Where principles are treated as I am sure you treat them in these discourses, there is profit for other countries also; and your counsel will be all the more useful because we have few superior minds addressing themselves here to these topics, fewer than thirty years ago.

I had welcome news of you the other day from young Eliot, our Second Secretary at Washington, and thank you for your kindness to him. He has an unusually keen and active intellect. Of ourselves there is not much to tell. My mother, now 85, keeps fairly well and my sister and wife are thriving. We have built ourselves and been inhabiting the cottage whereof we spake to your wife at N. East Harbor fifteen months ago, and have grown so fond of this hill-top with its deep woods and vast stretches of heathy land that I hate the idea of returning to London and the House of Commons, especially as our politics are singularly lifeless. Yours ought not to be, with so tremendous an issue pending; but one grieves to see how it will apparently be decided, and decided with very little chance given to the people of having it duly discussed and their opinion on it delivered. The Executive has seldom more effectively shown how much it can do. My wife joins with me in warmest remembrances to Mrs. Gilman and your daughters.

Always sincerely yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

Feb. 24/99.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

My absence in the country since July has thrown my papers into so much confusion that I cannot feel certain but what your *Introduction to Tocqueville* may have reached

me and be in a pile of printed matter which has not yet been thoroughly sifted. But I do not think it has come, for if it had, the chances are that I should have seen it and placed it aside to be read at the first opportunity. If you are scarce of copies, perhaps you had better wait till I have been able to make a complete search. If you have plenty, I shall be grateful for one, for nothing could be more interesting to me, and should it turn out that I have a copy already, I will bestow the second one "where it will do most good," viz. either on A. V. Dicey or on the Oxford library which contains the best collection of matter bearing on constitutional matters, that of All Souls College.

Thank you for your kindness to Eliot of our Embassy. He is a man of great ability, worth your knowing.

Who is Henry Jones Ford? He has written a very thoughtful book on your political development. It is a great pleasure to me that you are able to take a hopeful view of matters on your side, for I must own that the Imperialist policy causes me much disquietude. But America lives by her optimism, which has a wonderful way of refuting the sombre prophets. Our kindest remembrances to your wife and daughters. We often think of you all and wish intensely for a chance of seeing you again.

Always sincerely yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

March 24, 1899.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

I must no longer delay writing to thank you, which I do most heartily, for your handsome edition of Tocqueville, and especially for the most interesting and instructive Introduction you have prefixed to it. I am tempted to write you an essay in reply, discussing the points — or a few of them — you have dealt with in so agreeable and suggestive a way, but were I to attempt this, the letter would not be mailed for days or weeks. You have rendered a great service to readers of Tocqueville in the sketch you have given of his journeys, of the circumstances under which he observed, of the men who helped and influenced him. These throw much light on his conclusions, and constitute a marked

point of divergence between his method and that of Montesquieu.

So far as I can venture to express an opinion, I agree with your views, both on T.'s book and on the topics you discuss, save in three points.

1. I can't quite agree with what seems to be your estimate of Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty*. I like him (Lecky) personally extremely, and have the highest opinion of his book on Irish history, a model of diligence and fairness. But the verdict of competent critics on this side the water has been that his "*Democracy and Liberty*" is a very thin, rather confused, and indeed superficial book, without serious grappling with the real problems. He does not seem to me to understand America in the least; and his partizanship makes his views on English affairs of very little value. I should not presume to say this merely as the result of my own perusal. So far as I know it is the opinion of most people here who have examined his book carefully with knowledge of the topics.

2. Do you quite sufficiently dwell upon the difference between the first part and the second part of Tocqueville's book? To me the second seems comparatively viewy and unreal. Nothing can be more charming in point of style and method. But it seems to contain much less of substantial worth. I give this opinion with diffidence, and should like to know what you think. But it is borne in on me every time I read the book. It does not in the least diminish my profound admiration for Tocqueville's book as a whole.

3. Here I am still more diffident. But your closing sentences are more optimistic than I should quite have looked for from you who have so often dwelt to me on the disappointment of the last thirty years of American politics. As I see that many others of the American friends I most respect — e. g. Charles Eliot — share your optimism, I am doubtless wrong. But I say this to invite an expression of your view.

Our kindest remembrances to your wife and daughters, and heartiest thanks again for your delightful Introduction.

Always sincerely yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

November 20, 1906.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I don't see why you should n't remember your deserted friend and come and see him from time to time, favoring him with your gracious presence. My regards to your dear wife. Glad you like my offer to Baltimore. Your face shone in my eyes as I made it.

Always yours,

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

CAMBRIDGE, 9 Feb.

DEAR PRESIDENT:

You see that I have taken several days to consider the kind invitation of "your Trustees" to your commencement. I am doubly and trebly engaged here, and was from the beginning, but it was so pleasant to remember the 22d of February of former years, that I dallied with the idea of coming again. *Your* commencement is positively attractive. There is none of the wearisomeness about it which seems to be considered indispensable elsewhere. I am more afraid of a commencement oration than of a mad bull. J. H. is guiltless of such, and may its fair record never be stained. The meeting at your hall, the reception at your house, how different from the crowds I used to suffer from! It is not because I fear I should again take Sylvester's umbrella (he was going off with one man's overcoat and another man's overshoes from here) or because you say I should have an opportunity to make a few remarks, that I invent a double and treble engagement. My hands are over full, and I am half the time not well, and groan under burdens that I used never to feel. There is not a man or woman connected with Johns Hopkins that it would not give me a thrill of pleasure to see (I might leave out S. because I have lately seen him a week together). I would come to Baltimore, if I could, to see the Kings alone. Then if I add (not speaking of your house) my kind Trustees, Miss Grace, the Rieman-Valentine set, the Johnstons, I think I am a fool not to come. But I have promised to have certain work done, and I am very slow about everything now. I shall think of you

all on the 22d and write to Mrs. Gilman. Best love to her and to Alice and Lizzie.

Yours ever, with thanks,

F. J. CHILD.

CAMBRIDGE, May 10, 1885.

DEAR PRESIDENT:

I must entreat your clemency for having been so tardy to acknowledge your gift of the translation of Roland. I have not in all this time had an hour to myself and besides, the long interval has been darkened or weighted with a variety of troublous things, lately gout.

I wanted to go through the translation with the French in one hand and the English in the other, and a vague idea of finding the leisure for this — though where it should be I don't know — has made me wait. I have compared the two sufficiently to see how the work is done. The translation is necessarily a little free, and would not do for what our boys call "a pony." In spirit it seems to me very remarkably good. I don't believe an Englishman could make one that would represent the original half as well. Roland is one of the great poems of the world. If I were a Frenchman I should prize it beyond anything in the tongue, and a Frenchman may defy the world to show its like. The effect of the original is extremely well given by this version. An Englishman would have been in danger of rhodomontade. M. Rabillon preserves simplicity through all the fire and splendor and intensity of the romance. This translation will give, I should say, all the pleasure that any English version can impart, and perhaps quite as much as even Gautier's in modern French. I shall be much surprised if the book is not extensively read. A more delightful piece of literature than it makes would be hard to find. I ought to have said just now that the pleasure it gives an English reader will be as great as Gautier gives a French reader; for I think M. Rabillon's English will produce much more effect on an English reader than the best modern version in French.

I have myself, while reading it at one sitting, after looking at it before, been quite carried away with delight.

I have not heard of you and yours for a long time, and will hope that with the exception of Mrs. Gilman's great loss there has been no other trouble. My world is fast falling to pieces. Lowell sails for these shores on the 10th of June, but I suppose he will go back again. He says he wishes to *die here*. Best love to all of you. I am greatly in need of making some calls with Alice and going to a circus with Lizzie.

Ever yours faithfully,
F. J. CHILD.

DUNFORD near MIDHURST, 29 Sept. 1854.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am much obliged by your kind remembrance of me after so great a variety of interesting adventures on the Continent. It would indeed be a gratification to me to hear your account of all you saw, especially in Russia; and should you prolong your stay in London over the next month I shall certainly hope to have the pleasure of calling on you. I wish I could offer you any temptation to pay me a visit here. I am in an almost inaccessible part of the country — without railroads and in a corresponding state of mental backwardness. It is a purely agricultural district, where the land is held in large properties, and the peasantry are (as is almost universally the case in England) completely divorced from the ownership of the soil. To complete the discouragement, I am building a house here, or rather it is finished but not painted, and much of my furniture is piled up in the stable; so that you would find yourself in a state of discomfort hardly to be surpassed in a Russian inn. Yet we are in the midst of our most lovely rural scenery, and I should rejoice to ride or walk with you on our beautiful South Downs. I dare not say more, for there is selfishness in the very idea of bringing you 50 miles, nearly one half of the distance by coach, to see me. But pray oblige me with a letter saying how long you will stay in London that I may know whether I can hope to be able to call on you there
and believe me truly yours,

R. COBDEN.

DAN'L C. GILMAN Esq.

P.S. One word about Russia. Do you think the Emperor has the mental malady of his father? Is it true that Sebastopol, after so long a warning, is quite unprotected? If so, the Russians must henceforth be dubbed the Chinese of Europe, — great in proclamations, mighty on the map, but incapable of coping with civilized nations in the field.

Have you any idea of visiting Brighton or Portsmouth? I am very accessible here from either of those places. The railway connects with Chichester & from thence a shilling omnibus fare reaches Midhurst.

October 21, 1873.

PRESIDENT GILMAN.

MY DEAR SIR:

I was particularly sorry not to see you last Saturday, for I should have liked to hear something about education in California very much. Don't flatter yourself that the numerous schemes for getting government aid for education — high, low or middle — are put to rest. Far from it. Their advocates are only rearranging their armories a little. The whole country — including most of our public men — is inoculated with the idea of government benefice. If the merchants want a Panama canal, the government must make it; if the farmers want agricultural schools, they must be provided at government charge; if the people are suffering the inevitable ills of an irredeemable currency, the President and the Secretary of the Treasury are the kind gods who must set all things right. This utterly un-republican and un-American frame of the public mind is the thing I want to see changed; for I believe it to be, in its legitimate out-workings, fatal to public liberty. As to national university or agricultural school subsidies, they are only special and not very important symptoms of a deep-seated disease.

I don't see the least chance of my coming to California — I wish I did.

With cordial regards,

Very truly yours,

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

February 29, 1876.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

I look back with much pleasure to my brief visit to Baltimore, and want some memorial of it. Will you therefore have the kindness to send me copies of the *American, Sun* and *Gazette* for the 23d? I have no copy whatever of my little speech, and think that the newspapers' account of the whole transaction may be interesting to us both years hence.

I forgot to say to you that the *American's* version of my speech was accurate so far as I saw except for one word which can be changed in the proof.

The hospitality of yourself and your friends was delightful, and I was much impressed with the hearty interest which the best people in Baltimore take in your work. Coming back I had a morning at Yale with Brush which I much enjoyed, although it is a melancholy thing to see how the best teachers there feel towards Porter. Candor and frankness are after all the most necessary qualities in a college president. You will need also an unusual amount of patience and perseverance. Don't overwork yourself. That is a doctrine which I feel the need of preaching, because I don't practice it; but more and more I see that time is a necessary element of success in educational reforms, and that those of us who want to accomplish certain improvements must give ourselves the needed years for the work.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

NEW YORK, February 20, 1905.

DEAR MR. GILMAN:

I shall be very glad to have you notice Merz. Apparently it has never reached this office. 'T will seem like stories from the land of spirits to have you once more available for the *Nation*, as in our very beginning.

I presume a page will give you scope enough. At this moment my pigeon-holes are rather congested from the autumn output.

Very cordially yours,

W. P. GARRISON.

STRIBLING'S SPRINGS, VA., Aug. 15, 1879.

MY DEAR MR. GILMAN:

Many thanks for your cordial letter and the kind greetings from your household. I was very much tempted to follow your example and settle for the summer in one of your lovely New England villages, but my wife very naturally desired to see her mother and was especially solicitous about the health of a favorite aunt, and once in our old home we find it too troublesome to transport ourselves and our children to a distant part of the world — as Massachusetts seems to the true Virginian's eyes. So we have followed my wife's mother — Mrs. Colston — into this mountain retreat — some twelve miles from Staunton — one of the oldest and most quiet of Virginia watering places. The primitiveness of these resorts is doubtless familiar to you by report, and you know that people come to such places in order to be uncomfortable and to enjoy the two Southern luxuries of idleness and talk. But if our cabin would be considered very rough by you Sybarites, and Mrs. Gilman would be in despair at an apartment without wardrobe or chest of drawers, we, who have fought through several summers like to this, stand it tolerably well. The air is cool, the sulphur water reasonably strong, the fare abundant after the old Virginia type, and the company made up of pleasant people, chiefly from Richmond and Kentucky. How long we shall stay I cannot tell, probably not long after the first of September. I should like to be back in Baltimore as early next month as possible and may precede my wife and children. This summer I have done very little, and these last weeks of vacation must be devoted as far as possible to preparation for next session, which promises to be for me a year of very arduous work. A trunk of books supplies me with ample material for all manner of lucubrations and I hope to make my fortnight here tell.

We are all in fair health. My wife sends her love to Mrs. Gilman and kind regards to you, and Emma is much gratified at Lizzie's remembrance of her.

With best regards to Mrs. Gilman and all your household,

I am

Yours faithfully,

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

HEIDELBERG, June 29, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. GILMAN:

When I last wrote, I did not know how perilously near we were to losing you. Since then I have received fuller information, and even now I have not quite recovered from the post-liminary fright. You need no assurance from me how I feel in this matter. Apart from the loss to the University, which, at this crisis, would have meant ruin, my own happiness and usefulness, which have been so largely determined by your wisdom and goodness, were at stake. Under no other chief could a man of my temperament have served so cheerfully, so hopefully. In fact I have never thought of working under any other President without serious disquietude. In my not infrequent hours of depression I have gone to you for comfort and have never failed to return with new heart and vigor to my work, and as no new field is possible for me I should have missed you inexpressibly. Many problems remain which you alone will be able to solve and I hope that as long as I am connected with the Johns Hopkins University I shall have the inestimable privilege of your friendship and your counsel.

As to the financial crisis, the gravity of which I find was not overestimated by pessimists like myself, I suppose the University is safe for five years, but I am glad to see that its friends are doing more liberal things than mere safety and I hope we shall see a new and vigorous expansion. Last night when I was witnessing the illumination of the castle from Professor Ihne's house on the other side of the river, I fell into talk with one of the professors of the University of Heidelberg, who seemed to be deeply interested in our affairs, and I am sure that any disaster to the Johns Hopkins would be felt the world round.

As you have seen by the date of this letter, I am back upon a familiar ground or rather more familiar ground, for Heidelberg has developed very much in the last six years — to say nothing of the forty-two years that have elapsed since I first saw the famous town. My little discourse at the college for girls in Scutari went off very well, as I have been told, and was listened to devoutly by an audience of some three or four hundred, among them representatives of the Turkish government, of the Greek and American

churches, of the Philological Syllagos of Constantinople. America was represented by our chargé d'affaires, and altogether I had a sufficiently dignified audience, outside of the faculty itself and the College people. The *Levant Herald* gave a fine abstract of the address, and a synopsis of it has appeared, I believe, in one of the Armenian papers. The whole visit of nearly a fortnight was a droll episode in my life as well as in my trip, and if I did not see Constantinople as well as I might have done if I had gone there a month before, still I have learned many things that I could have learned in no other way. The ladies of the school were kindness itself and carried out their instincts of hospitality into the most minute particulars. From the time I left Athens to the time I reached Vienna I was at no expense whatever except for a few independent ventures of my own, and I must say that I have been spoiled by this experience so that for the last three or four days I have resented very much the necessity of putting my hands into my own pockets. I left Constantinople last Tuesday, the 23rd, and took the new Constanta route by steamer as far as the Roumanian seaport on the Black Sea; thence via Bucharest and Budapest to Vienna. The railway journey is much more interesting than the route taken by the Oriental Express and as I was personally conducted by the President of the College, Miss Patrick, I had very little trouble with the necessary changes of cars and inspection of luggage. At Vienna I staid a couple of days making up my mind what next to do. The season is too early for St. Moritz, and as my general health is superb I hesitated to go in for a cure at Carlsbad simply because my legs were not all they were ten years ago, and so I determined to join my friends the Wheelers at Heidelberg and write up my Greek notes. What I have seen and heard and thought for the last three months will keep me busily employed for many a day, and when my University mail finds me, as it will in a few days, I shall have no reason to complain of lack of occupation.

Pardon this long letter and present my best regards to Mrs. Gilman and the young ladies.

Yours faithfully as ever,

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

SOME LETTERS

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Nov. 8, 1894.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

Many thanks for your note. There is nothing left of them. Nothing more crushing has occurred in my time. It beats the Tweed rising hollow, because there is so much of it. The passage of the Constitutional Amendment, which we did not expect, is the crowning mercy. The wicked have never been so sorrowful in this city.

Best remembrances to Mrs. Gilman from her oldest surviving friend, in which Katharine joins heartily. "Stop in when you're passing our way."

Yours sincerely,

E. L. GODKIN.

March 30, 1895.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

I was exceedingly sorry to have missed your address and reception last night. The fact is I had set it down for to-night, and my blunder burst upon me only this morning when I saw the report in the *Tribune*. It is a great mortification and disappointment to me. Besides hearing you, I should like to have testified to my sense of your value as a "good American." There is no man to whom the country is more indebted. Scribner & Co. are going to publish this summer a volume of old *Nation* articles, and I had great pleasure and pride in putting in my forecast, made twenty years ago, of what you would do. Long may you wave!

Faithfully yours,

EDWIN L. GODKIN.

NEW YORK, July 3, 1853.

DEAR SIR:

Will the *Linonian* be a Temperance or an Alcoholic festival? Will it be over and adjourned by 8 P. M.?

A word in reply will oblige

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

D. C. GILMAN, Esq.

Sec. L. S. N. Haven, Conn.

NEW YORK, Nov. 16, '55.

FRIEND GILMAN:

I thank you for yours of yesterday. We will allow you \$5 per column for your articles, which is as much as we pay almost any one. If they seem just right, they will be printed as Editorials, which (because of the larger type) will fill up pretty fast. We should prefer to have them generally make only about a column per article, but there is no limit to the number of articles. It is not hard to elucidate one point per article, when the articles are extended *ad libitum*.

We should like an article on —, also one on LePlay, if you can shew just what they suggest, or would have done, within our compass. There is no use in exposing the sores of Society unless with a hope of helping to heal them. I hope you will write, not a review, but a statement of what these writers' facts suggest of practical value.

I am going to Washington week after next.

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

D. C. GILMAN, Esq.,
N. Haven, Conn.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON,
July 25, 1886.

MY DEAR DR. GILMAN:

I have received, I do not know whether by your courtesy or that of some other person, a copy of your address before the Phi Beta at Harvard. I have read it with great delight. It is one of many proofs how easily and amply you are meeting the great demand made upon you by your most important relation to the scholarship of the country.

All you say as to what should be the relation of university training and influence to politics and government is true. But I wish somebody would tell me why it is that this theory so often does not prove true in practice. I have sometimes thought that the most unscholarly utterances we hear on current politics come from scholars, the most unscientific judgments come from men of science, the most thorough blackguards are our educated gentlemen, and the most heat

and excitement is hard by the cool and quiet atmosphere of the university. I may state this rather strongly. I only speak of one state and one college. But I think these gentlemen forget that the scholar's political judgments are only of value when he has applied the methods, the thoroughness, the patience, the self-command, of scholarship to politics. It is I presume a good thing for a statesman to learn Greek. But he is not quite fit to depose Bentley or Porson when he has learned the alphabet.

However, this is all quite foreign to your most admirable address.

I am faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR.

12 EAST 23d STREET,
NEW YORK, September 27, 1881.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

My friend Trench (son of the Archbishop), one of the firm of C. Kegan Paul & Co., publishers of the *Nineteenth Century*, is to be in Baltimore in a few days.

I don't foist my friends on one another, but as he happens to be a good deal of a gentleman, for a publisher, and intimate with a good many people who can't know too much about Johns Hopkins, I have thought you might care to show him around. If you do, you can attack him through the Baltimore Post Office, where I am addressing him now.

I don't say a word to him about you, not wanting to interfere with that freedom on your part which is the birthright of every American citizen.

Should you pick him up and introduce him to Gildersleeve and Martin as a friend of mine, I sha'n't have occasion to blush for any of the three.

Please remember me cordially to your family. Tell that delightful daughter (this is the sober expression of a man of parental condition) that I hope she still "enjoys being grown up."

Very truly yours,

HENRY HOLT.

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1885.

DEAR MR. GILMAN:

Mr. Condit is here and will remain two or three days. I trust you will therefore carry out your suggestion, and spend Saturday afternoon and evening with us. Mr. Newcomb leaves here on Monday for a short absence.

I often feel as though we were asking very much of you, but then comes the thought that it is for the public good and not for any private ends, and that you are always a worker for the Public.

With kind regards,

I am yours truly,

GARDINER G. HUBBARD.

October 25, 1891.

DEAR MR. GILMAN:

I have just finished reading your address at the opening of the Sage Library, and must tell you how much I have enjoyed it. It is the best thing of the kind I have ever read, and I do not believe a better was ever written.

I see I have called it a thing; excuse me, it is not a thing, but a mind, a living spirit, that ought to run over the world, and bear rich fruit in every city and town that owns a library.

Thanks and again thanks for the address. Dr. White spent two days with me last week and we spoke often of you, and he told me of your address, but I had not then read it and could not appreciate his praise.

With kind regards,

I am your friend,

GARDINER G. HUBBARD.

CAMBRIDGE, August 16, 1891.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 4th, which reached me this morning. I am much obliged by your kind offer, but I feel that I should rather not engage myself to lecture anywhere except at your University. I do not know yet precisely what margin of time, after the delivery of my course at Baltimore, will remain for me to spend in the

United States; and in any case I should prefer to remain free. I am not the less sensible of your kindness in offering to make arrangements.

Condition No. 2, in the printed paper which you enclosed, causes me no kind of difficulty; unless, indeed, it is taken to mean that pagan literature must be treated in some direct relation to Christian Ethics. "Pagan, I regret to say," was Mr. Pecksniff's parenthetical apology for the Graces; but even that need scarcely be made for the Hellenic Muses.

With many thanks, believe me

Yours very sincerely,

R. C. JEBB.

MY DEAR MR. GILMAN:

I wonder if you remember the little girl to whom you gave the "Vicar of Wakefield" many months ago. I have never forgotten you and dear Mrs. Gilman, and I have often thought of the happy afternoon I spent with you in Baltimore, one lovely May day last spring. I would like very much to see you again and I am writing this little note to tell you how delighted we shall all be if you will come to see us when you pass through Tuscumbia on your way to, or from Florence. I heard a few days ago that you were coming south, and would be in Florence about the middle of March. My mother and father send you their kind regards, and wish me to say that it will give them great pleasure to welcome you, and to do anything in their power to make your stay with us pleasant. Hoping that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing my kind friend in my own dear home, I remain, with kind love to Mrs. Gilman and your daughters,

Affectionately yours,

HELEN KELLER.

TUSCUMBIA, ALABAMA,

March eighth.

FOTHERGILL COTTAGE, ATLANTIC CITY,

March 17, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. GILMAN:

I must draw near to you, even in some visible way, as you meet with other loyal hearts to honor my poet — and

yours — and since I may not speak to fit so high an occasion I would like to send you some words of his.

Following a swift impulse I have chosen part of a letter, where renunciation and faith are leading the artist to accept his vocation, in the opening of its brief exercise.

As you shall assist in setting the seal upon its close, I would have these words in your mind, and may the offering reveal the unutterable friendship and sympathy of

Your faithful friend,

MARY DAY LANIER.

BROOKLYN, Oct. 23rd, 1874.

. . . Now, this is written because I sit here in my room daily and picture *thee* picturing *me* worn, and troubled, and disheartened: and because I do not wish thee to think up any groundless sorrow in thy soul. Of course, I have my keen sorrows, momentarily more keen than I would like any one to know; but I thank God that in a knowledge of Him and of myself which cometh to me daily in fresh revelations, I have a steadfast firmament of blue in which all clouds soon dissolve. . . . Have then, . . . no fears nor anxieties in my behalf: look upon all my "disappointments" as mere witnesses that art has no enemy so unrelenting as cleverness, and as rough weather that seasons timber. It is of little consequence whether *I* fail; the "*I*" in the matter is a small business; *Que mon nom soit flétri, que La France soit libre!* quoth Danton: which is to say, interpreted by my environment: let my name perish, — the poetry is good poetry and the music is good music, and beauty dieth not, and the heart that needs it will find it.

SIDNEY LANIER — to his nearest friend.

(For March 19th, 1883.)

MY DEAR SIR:

This moment I had the significant cards, informing me that you are a Unionman in a double sense. Whatever a man of my age, knowing all the seriousness of human life, can wish to a young man entering that bond whence all civilization originally flows, I wish to you and Mrs. Gilman with a fervor which is increased by the amenity and kindli-

ness that you have uniformly shown me in our intercourse. May God bless you! Present my best respects to Mrs. Gilman, *unbekannterweise* as the Germans properly (though somewhat lengthily) say.

Mrs. Lieber joins me in my warmest wishes. May peace forever dwell in your house, and, soon, in your country, that is to say not à la Fernando Wood but after a large and plain victory of Right and Truth. So be it!

Thanking you for having thought of me in this auspicious period of your life, I am

Very truly

Your obed't

FRANCIS LIEBER.

NEW YORK, 7 December, 1861.

NEW YORK, 6 July, 1863,
(Thermopylae Day.)

Te Deum laudamus!

I thank you, my dear Sir, for your information concerning the paper in the Law Register. I wish people would glance at what I have said on voting and debating armies in my Civil Liberty, and wondered that Gov. Seymour (N. Y.) did not quote *that*, when in his message he quoted me on the danger of executive influence on elections. It is all a mistake to let armies vote — an essential mistake — and it is a great mistake in our friends to try to give the vote to armies, because it galls us now and works very hard against us. Tables are constantly turned in history. Nothing [is] worse and more ruinous than to get power over opponents for the time being [rather] than by permanent legislation.

Te Deum laudamus!

Your friend,

FRANCIS LIEBER.

DEERFOOT FARM, January 17, 1887.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

The finest snowstorm of the winter is going on and I had just said to my daughter, "I should be perfectly happy watching it if I had n't made that foolish promise to speak

in Chicago," when your letter was brought in. Now I made this foolish promise while I was in England last summer. Chicago seemed so far away in space and the 22nd February in time! And they asked me to talk to them on politics, and it looked like a duty (for I really have a kind of message for them), so I said *yes*. Now the day they fixed was the twenty-second of February, — the very same for which you ask me. So you see it would be impossible. And really I don't mean to speak any more after I have kept the promises already made. I never liked it, it shortens my life in more ways than one, and now that I am become an *Emeritus* professor (without pension, unhappily) I mean to apply the *Emeritus* privilege in other directions. If I went anywhere it should be to Baltimore, for all my memories of the place are pleasant. Pray remember me most cordially to all my friends there, especially to Mr. Johnson and Dr. Thomas of your Board of Trustees.

Faithfully yours,

J. R. LOWELL.

MY DEAR GILMAN:

I have just looked at my card to see if I could join you on the 23rd. I find I have to preside that evening at the Neurological Society. Life gets so loaded with these unending duties that the poor old ship staggers on ever overloaded. The efficient folk seem to me few in number and to be constantly and unrelentingly put upon by the drones. No doubt you too feel it. But all this growl is because I cannot go to Baltimore.

Yours truly,

WEIR MITCHELL.

Feb. 5th.

Many thanks, my dear Gilman, for your address. Large thoughts are welcome always — and why cannot we meet oftener? Life wanes and gives us yet no parliament of good fellows —

"There is something in this world amiss" —

Yrs. sincerely,

WEIR MITCHELL.

11th March.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR:

Thanks for your two letters. I return that of Mr. Wright. Does not the human heart possess the property of hardening on the approach of a man who introduces himself as "the only American so honored," etc.? I feel a little curiosity to see his "tracts." The only ones of the six in which he can show whether he really knows much are Elliptic Integrals and Quaternions.

I fear I cannot help you much in describing Sylvester's as it lies mostly in departments to which I have given little attention. Mathematics in general do not admit of being described in really intelligible popular language.

Mrs. Newcomb will avail herself of your kind attention.

Yours very truly,

SIMON NEWCOMB.

WASHINGTON, Saturday.

MY DEAR SIR:

Next time you want anything kept from our friend, look out for all leaks. From the moment of your invitation till after the meeting he never ceased to question me upon what I was going to do with myself during each hour of my stay, and I had to try every dodge short of absolute falsehood to keep him off. How horrible, then, to see him turn up after dinner and absolutely refuse to talk on any other subject than what I had been doing with myself, what I had eaten and where, etc., finally winding up with the plump inquiry whether I had not dined then and there, when of course the chain broke and everything came down in a lump.

So, I had to laugh over the funny episode which ended one of the most pleasant evenings I ever spent.

Please make my compliments to Mrs. Gilman and believe me

Ever yours,

S. N. [NEWCOMB.]

BAINBRIDGE, GA., Dec. 24, 1889.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

Your very nice letter came duly to hand a few days before I left home to spend the holidays in this delightful

region (in the woods about 60 miles from the Gulf of Mexico). We were greatly interested to hear of your pleasant journey. I am sorry you did not get the consular list; it was duly mailed to your Paris address. It is very pleasing to hear that your special passport served you so well. I suppose this will not reach you before you get to Gibraltar and that the royal reception you may anticipate from the Governor of the fortress will have been a thing of the past. If not, please remember me to Consul Sprague.

At the University all goes smoothly, so far as I know. . . . Rowland and I are somewhat concerned about the projected B. & O. tunnel up Howard St. lest it may shake our instruments when trains go through. I hope to have some observations made on the Pa. tunnel before we take any steps in the matter.

The question which you have heard me propound (more than once perhaps) whether the American Celestial Mechanician of 1900-1925 is to be a university man or a graduate of the backwoods is not yet decided in favor of the J. H. U. The difference between ability to comprehend and master pure mathematics and ability to apply mathematical ideas to concrete problems is very striking. The university can do little more than water the astronomical plant; but perhaps this is true of all other plants. But do not understand me as fearing that the results of our work will be otherwise than creditable. I am talking only of a search for *the* coming man.

I am stopping here with Professor R. Pumpelly; he has an idea of yachting on the Mediterranean next winter to afford a daughter with weak lungs a mild climate. When you are through your winter experience with that sea perhaps you can drop me a line for his benefit.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Gilman and daughters, I remain

Yours very faithfully,
S. NEWCOMB.

GOTHA, 4 August, 1860.

SIR:

I have long felt under deep and lasting obligations to you for the truly liberal and enlightened manner in which you

have drawn attention and made known to the American public geographical labors in Europe in general and my humble endeavors in particular. And now that by your revealing the author's name of those most excellent geographical articles in the *American Journal* I am enabled to address you, I take the earliest opportunity of sincerely thanking you for the great kindness and indulgence with which you have always spoken of my Journal. I look always forward to your articles as the best on geography produced in the New World.

I have lately issued a Map of the Alleghany System, but as all the maps in my Journal are invariably spoiled by the transfer lithographic printing (which we cannot do without, both on account of cheapness and of time) I take the liberty of enclosing you a proof from the original plate, which you will, I dare say, find much more clear and distinct than the published copies.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

A. PETERMANN.

WEST POINT, July 26, 1876.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

Yours of the 22nd has reached me, but as I am here I cannot reach Philadelphia in time to be with you. But I expect to be there some time, after three or four weeks. Acoustic instruments always seem to me more like playthings than anything else, but I suppose we must have some. . . . I am now studying and working as hard as possible on various things, among which is the theory of diffraction. Optics was my weak point, but I take considerable interest in it now and I may end by making it one of my strong points. In original work I am trying to solve some problems in electrical distribution and am making slow progress as they are very difficult. As soon as I get through with the above, I shall use the library here to look up certain questions preparatory to original investigation on them. I am in a great hurry to get to Baltimore and unpack my library to go to work.

Yours truly,

HENRY A. ROWLAND.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., March 29, 1886.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

I foresee that I shall be quite unable to go southwards this year, or to attend the anniversary exercises of the Johns Hopkins University. Both the conflict of the college duties, and my press of other engagements, forbid me to think of leaving this year. I much regret the fact, for a visit to Baltimore is always delightful, and this promised to be most of all delightful, in view of the occasion.

How deeply I felt the death of Professor Morris it was not very needful for me to say. You know how my fortune with him was just that of so many other young men, viz., to find in him a fatherly friend, of the warmest, the freest, and the wisest sort. His place is one that you can never fill, if you wait a century. I feel sure that no other misfortune of equal seriousness has come upon the University during its first decade. I hope that nothing so ill may soon again befall.

Permit me, while deeply sympathizing with you for this calamity, to congratulate you most earnestly that you have finished these ten years with such a generally happy and with such a wonderfully well ordered and successful progress to show to the world. These ten years are, after all, *my* first ten years also, in one sense, and a strong feeling of personal gratitude to you, to whom I owe so much good fortune, joins itself with my admiration of your great work in Baltimore.

Yours truly,
JOSIAH ROYCE.

NEW YORK, December 6, 1900.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

If the presidency of the National Civil Service Reform League is offered to you, which, as I have the best reason for thinking, it will be, I earnestly hope you will not decline to accept it. My reasons for resigning are altogether political. They have absolutely nothing to do with the work the president of the League has to perform. That work is indeed very light, and it will henceforth be even lighter than it has been before, since all the current routine will now be

attended to by the chairman of the Executive Committee — an office recently created and now filled by Mr. Bonaparte and by the Secretary, Mr. McAneny, two officers exceptionally able, experienced and efficient.

I mention this because I know from my own experience that men of our years do not like to take upon themselves new burdens of labor and responsibility. But I know also from experience that in this case that burden is hardly any burden at all. I have not the slightest doubt that what little work there is, as well as the association with your co-laborers, will be in the highest degree congenial to you.

Believing as I do that by accepting the presidency of the League you will render a great service to a most worthy cause, I permit myself to hope that the invitation which will be addressed to you will meet with a favorable response.

Very sincerely yours,

C. SCHURZ.

Monday, May 18 [1896].

MY DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

Many thanks for the letters of introduction to Professors Norton, Thayer and Child. I hope to use them next Monday.

How can I express a tenth of the gratitude my wife and I feel for all Mrs. Gilman's and your kindness to us in Baltimore. It has been really a great time for us both. How much we have gained both of friendship and of knowledge and of stimulus in work, it will take us many, many years to realise.

I am going back with new ideals and examples for my own work in Glasgow with my students. It is a very little appendix to so vast a work as the creation and organisation of Johns Hopkins University, but I wish you to know that your influence will (if I do my duty) be at work in improving certain theological classes in Glasgow.

God bless you and spare you for many years to come in the work to which He has called you in Baltimore.

Ever yours,

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

ATHENÆUM CLUB, March 23, 1876.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT:

I have been waiting in the hope of hearing from you particulars as to your plans and what you wish me to do before replying to your friendly communication of February 29. I do look forward, as you are kind enough to augur, to a new course of usefulness in connection with your and my University, to which I already begin to feel the attachment of a favored son. I have since received and written to acknowledge a letter from Mr. Reverdy Johnson acquainting me with my definite appointment to the chair of Mathematics.

From the tenor of your remarks when you were last here I rather anticipate that you will ere long be on your way back to England and that you will be able to utilize my services here and on the continent, but of course I hold myself at the disposal of the Trustees and await their and your instructions to guide me in my future proceedings. I telegraphed yesterday to you in order that you might have an opportunity of taking into consideration whether it might be for the interests of the University to treat with one of the Arnolds respecting the chair of English literature in the University. I hope you will acquit me of any other motive but regard for the good of our University if I should seem to have taken too much upon myself in making such a suggestion. The news of my appointment is beginning to circulate in our scientific and literary circles.

A day or two ago Matthew Arnold spoke to me about the University and said that if he could get leave (meaning from his wife and relations — he is brother-in-law to Mr. W. V. Forster, our ex-Minister) he would prefer a congenial appointment as a professor in such an institution to *grinding* as an Inspector of schools in England. He even went so far as to say that I might acquaint you that he could be approached on the subject. This would have been a very great catch indeed, as I suppose no man is so well known (certainly none better) than Matthew Arnold in connexion with literature in either of our two countries. Subsequently, however, he said he feared it was out of the question as regarded himself, but that such an appointment

would well suit his brother Thomas Arnold (who old Dr. Arnold always said was the cleverest of the family), who took the highest honors at Oxford and was subsequently head of some government college in the Colonies which he resigned on account of having become a Roman Catholic. At present it seems *he hovers between* the two churches. Matthew Arnold says his brother is best known as the author of the life of Wickliff. I dare say you have men quite as good on your side of the Atlantic, but thought that before proceeding to elect any one to the chair of English Literature you might like to know what I had to say about the two Arnolds.

Believe me

Yours very truly,

J. J. SYLVESTER.

30th March, 1876.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT:

Your letter and Mr. Reverdy Johnson's were duly received and I wrote replies to both a few days ago. In obedience to your summons I lose no time in repairing to headquarters and have written to secure a passage by the Cunard steamer which leaves Liverpool on Saturday week next, the 8th proxo.

I have just received the account of the inaugural meeting just sent to me by the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University. I hope they will not be *scandalized* by their Mathematical Professor having composed a poem of 201 lines, all (except 5) rhyming to Rosalind! It is printed, but whether it will be published or reserved for private circulation will depend on circumstances. It is considered here by good judges as a remarkable *tour-de-force*, and my lady friends who have heard it recited are good enough to say that they find it "charming."

With best wishes and looking soon to join you, I remain

Yours very truly,

J. J. SYLVESTER.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

In leaving your happy country I feel as if it were due to you and to myself to leave behind me one of the efforts of

that muse of mine which ever and anon escapes from and soars beyond the field of Mathematics. I dedicate it to you, as a tribute of gratitude for the unvarying kindness which has made my sojourn in Baltimore so — endurable. With my cordial adieus to your estimable ladies,

Yours hastily,

J. J. S.

I enclose for Mrs. G. my poor likeness, taken at the instant of departure.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD, 30th July, 1889.

DEAR PRESIDENT GILMAN:

I am greatly your debtor for various communications, among which I must particularize your noble discourse at the opening of the Johns Hopkins Hospital. To-day I have received and read with the greatest interest the monthly circular showing the present condition and aims of the University and the Hospital; you are doing a great work, and the evidence of it cannot fail to strike all who read the document. I hope you will excuse my dilatoriness in responding and believe me when I say that no one takes a deeper interest than I do in the continued prosperity (in the highest sense of the term) of the institution to which I always proclaim and shall ever feel it was an honor to me to have been attached. I have been troubled considerably about my eyes and in other ways during the last half year and more, or would not otherwise have delayed so long in acknowledging your kindness in remembering and writing to me. I have met Gildersleeve and Judge Brown in London, but from unavoidable circumstances seen less of them than I should have desired.

It was a great shock and distress to me to receive the intelligence of Mitchell's death — so young and with so much intellectual power. He does not seem to have remained equal to his promise after leaving the Johns Hopkins. Craig and he dined with me in London some years ago.

I have read with much regret also an account in our papers of the late President Woolsey's death — if I am right in thinking that he is a near relative of Mrs. Gilman. I sincerely deplore an event that must bring sorrow to her. Your time must be very fully occupied and your energies taxed

to the utmost by your double Presidency under an arrangement which I think must work to the advantage of University and Hospital alike, provided that it does not take too much out of you. I hope in the course of the next term to have a paper ready for Craig. I am just completing another, with Hammond's invaluable aid, for the *Acta Mathematica*. The air of Oxford does not suit many people, and I am one of them, but I do my best to keep on working.

With kind regards to Mrs. Gilman and all friends in Baltimore, believe me

Yours sincerely,

J. J. SYLVESTER.

1228 MADISON AVENUE

[BALTIMORE] 10. 14. 1889.

DEAR MR. GILMAN:

. . . The hours spent with you in the discussion of subjects of varied interest and importance have left only helpful and ennobling recollections. To have seen so much accomplished by the University under your guidance in this decade and a half, and to have had the smallest share in promoting the success of your wise and far reaching plan has been unmingled pleasure.

I trust your enjoyment of a period of rest and recreation will be complete, and that a near view of the failing glories of the older civilizations will send you back to us who already owe you so much with your confidence increased in the grand possibilities of our own country, and if possible with greater devotion to its development along the lines of true knowledge and Christian virtue.

With my best wishes and kindest regards to Mrs. Gilman and your daughters, I am always

Very truly and faithfully yours,

JAS. CAREY THOMAS.

[One of the original Board of Trustees.]

1530 PARK AVE., Nov. 22, 1901.

MY DEAR DR. GILMAN:

I have read with great interest your last report — alas, that it is to be the very last — which you were kind enough to send me.

It recapitulates in very brief and modest terms the closing chapter of the first administration of our University, which has always seemed to me to be the most fruitful and inspiring period in the history of Baltimore, and your last official utterance sounds the same note of invincible courage and hopefulness which has characterized your whole career, and been the secret of your wonderful success. It is an augury of the continued prosperity of the noble institution, whose foundation you have laid on such broad lines. May you live to see it emerge from the clouds which have for a time overhung it. Indeed I am not sure, tho' the outlook is so discouraging at times, but that this time of stress will prove a helpful discipline.

Institutions, like individuals, may be ennobled and purified by trial — and it does not appear that altogether the best moral and intellectual results are achieved by the most richly endowed universities. The Johns Hopkins, tho' so young and so poor, has a noble body of alumni who are doing good work for the country in many fields, and who are very loyal and grateful to their Alma Mater, as evidenced by the very fine letters from four of their associations printed in your report.

You have planted and nurtured, with wise and patient and loving care, a priceless tree. It will bear fruit for the healing of the nation, for many generations after you are gone.

Gratefully and sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE TURNBULL.

June 15, 1892.

DEAR DR. GILMAN:

I beg you will accept my hearty thanks for your more than kind note of the thirteenth of June, accompanying a delightfully readable copy of your Cornell Address of last October. The address has interested me exceedingly. It is not much compliment, I am aware, to say that it has greatly expanded my *bibliothecal* ideas — for these were limited enough. But it has presented the library itself as an entity, apart from its contents, in such new and attractive points of view as to set me to thinking, and make me desire and resolve to think still more, on the large subject which it introduces to me so freshly and so delightfully.

I have more than once dreamed of the life of a student, in a quiet library, pursuing a favorite study, with all the books he could need, and all the time and opportunity he needed to read them, as one of the happiest of lives — intellectual lives, at all events. There is something of the atmosphere about it which Dr. Holmes, in his "Hundred Days," found in his Cathedral Close, not exactly a lotus-eating air, but something as near to it — as is proper.

But I forget that I am writing to a man who has only twenty-four hours more for Baltimore, before starting upon a delightful voyage. I assume that Mrs. Gilman goes with you, of course. Please offer her my kindest regards and wishes. *Bon Voyage!* to you both.

Always sincerely yours,

S. T. WALLIS.

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 27, 1894.

MY DEAR MR. GILMAN:

I wanted to have my thanks go back to you as promptly as your kind letter came to me, for it struck to my heart as few others did, because it was written under the impulse of a rush of sorrow kindred to my own, as you recalled the friend and colleague of those earlier years, when you were together fighting a good fight for principles and methods you both lived to see, in a measure, accepted and bear fruit.

That it was his rarely beautiful and noble character that stood far in the front of all he may have otherwise achieved, in your thoughts, was most grateful to me.

Few knew him as you did then, and fewer still saw so clearly wherein the power of his life lay; in his unswerving fealty to truth, his purity of motive and "a heart at leisure from itself," from any self-seeking impulse, that could thus give the entire devotion of his best thought to whatever work or cause he had in hand.

As I have read the kind notices and addresses of the younger men, who loved him and looked to him as a leader, I have wished that some friend of his earlier days, like you, who knew something more of him than the books he had written or the honors that had been accorded him, had also

spoken. No one could do it so well as yourself, because your intimate association with him was during his active life, before he was set aside from all direct participation in public affairs. As you think of him it is like the opening of a long sealed book. It is the whole spirit of his life as a man among men that you see, and not merely the scholar on whom the world has later put its stamp of recognition; nor are your memories overlaid by those of these years of sad seclusion, patiently and nobly borne while still using so faithfully all his powers within the limits left him.

I was glad to hear from Mr. Lanman that you were to have something to do with the Philadelphia meeting, and I hope the memories of which you wrote so feelingly when you first knew that he would be to you henceforth only a memory will still prompt you to say a few words like those you said to me.

It will seem strange to you when I say that I wrote the first two pages of this letter months ago, and, interrupted, have looked at it on my desk almost daily, longing to thank you for what I had read so gratefully, but utterly unable to make my hand obey my will. The strain of those twelve distressing days and nights of incessant watching, so vainly spent, and the fortnight of inevitable cares and business that followed, which I was able to go calmly through while needed, proved more than I, without young strength, can soon rally from.

But I have been sure that your friendship would find excuse for me.

With an affectionate remembrance to Mrs. Gilman and Alice, believe me

Most gratefully yours,

ELIZABETH B. WHITNEY

[MRS. WILLIAM D. WHITNEY].

PRINCETON, N. J., July 15th, 1902.

MY DEAR DR. GILMAN:

Your letter from Berlin has given me the deepest gratification. I do not know any one whose support and God-speed I should more desire in the circumstances. I feel that a great deal of my university training has come from you

and from my association with the men at the Hopkins. And just now, at the outset of my new duties, while I feel myself painfully untried in the things I am about to undertake, there is a peculiar value to me in finding that you, who know men and understand the work to be done, have confidence in my success. I wish that I *could* hope that a day would come when some one could stand up and say in public to me, as truthfully as I had the pleasure of saying to you, that my work — a great work covering many years of achievement — had been thoroughly well done. I shall strive and pray for that end, and letters like yours will help me forward in the arduous business. With warmest regards both to Mrs. Gilman and yourself,

Gratefully yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

CHAPTER VII

RETIREMENT FROM JOHNS HOPKINS AND PRESIDENCY OF THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION

THE close of a quarter-century of Mr. Gilman's work as President of the Johns Hopkins University and the close of the scriptural period of threescore and ten years of his life came very nearly together. That the approach of the double event should have inclined him to relinquish the task to which he had so long devoted his best powers is not surprising and requires no explanation. There has been much conjecture, nevertheless, as to whether the prolonged difficulty in maintaining the resources of the University at such a level as was required for preserving its position and its standards had a share in bringing about Mr. Gilman's determination to resign. To what extent this may have been so it will never be possible to determine; it was not his nature to take the world into his confidence in regard to his personal feelings. It would not be in any way strange if this element in the case played a part in his decision; he might well have felt that the time had come when it was fitting that the problems confronting the University should be taken hold of by younger hands. The way in which the notice of his intended resignation was received by the country may be indicated by one extract from out of the scores of editorial comments made by the press of all sections, this being from the *New York Evening Post* of November 21, 1900:

On the completion of twenty-five years of distinguished service as President of the Johns Hopkins University, President Gilman will resign his charge to a younger man.

It is fitting now to recall the significance of that extraordinary educational development which he initiated and guided in America. When in 1875 he accepted the Presidency of the new Johns Hopkins University, the institution was all to make, and fortunately President Gilman was given a free hand. The founder (advantage not enjoyed by all organizers) was dead, and subject of beatification rather than of negotiation. The Trustees trusted their man implicitly, and he proved worthy of their confidence. He gave the new university an ideal of exact scholarship and a working plan of original research. It was a new idea in American education. . . . You might have hunted over America in vain in the late '70s to find another such institution, and nothing has been more gratifying than the generous way in which the great universities which subsequently carried out President Gilman's idea, and carried it further than he, with small and shrinking resources, could do, have acknowledged his leadership in shaping the American university ideal. It was largely his work, in its direct and indirect effects, that gave American scholarship its citizen's rights in the academic world at large. Some such reflections the news of his retirement will bring to all interested in higher education in America. President Gilman resigns ostensibly in obedience to the unwritten law that threescore-and-ten are the years of an administrator. At Johns Hopkins University they would face gladly the "and if they be fourscore"; but those who know the present status of the university know, too, that the problems of financial support demand not only the sheer force, but the long future, of a younger man.

Whether or not the financial aspect of Johns Hopkins affairs at the time had any influence in shaping Mr. Gilman's decision, there is another element which has sometimes been supposed to have had a part in it, but which certainly had no share whatever in the matter. It had been generally understood for some little time preceding Mr. Gilman's formal notification, in November, 1900, of his

intended resignation, that he was contemplating this step; and it was not until half a year later, in May, 1901, that he had any intimation of Mr. Carnegie's scheme of a great institution for the promotion of knowledge. The idea of any prospective participation in the work of another great institution was not in his thoughts. When he was asked to take part in the shaping of Mr. Carnegie's great project, the splendid possibilities of it fired his imagination and appealed to that desire for creative usefulness which was the dominant trait of his character and which abode with him to the end; but no such prospect was before him when he determined to retire from the Johns Hopkins presidency, and the idea that the future Carnegie Institution had any connection with that retirement is wholly without foundation.

In a letter to his old friend, Rev. Dr. Jacob Cooper, he gives perhaps a fuller expression than anywhere else to the state of his feelings on the subject:

BALTIMORE, Nov. 23 [1900].

MY DEAR AND LIFE-LONG FRIEND:

I will not delay a day before giving expression to the feelings that are awakened by your note. — first of all, gratitude for such appreciative friendship, — for the kindness that overlooks my faults and forgets my limitations. I remember well the letter that you wrote me on my accession to office, and I am grateful that the close of this long period brings with it your sacred benediction.

And next, a word of regret that you do not approve my withdrawal from office. Two considerations may not have occurred to you. We have come to a new epoch, and the man who inaugurates new measures should have before him a reasonable prospect of twenty years' service. Next, altho' I am well, I am not young and I am involved in many educational and philanthropic cares and duties. To these I can give much more time if I am free from the daily duties of

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administration. To you I might quote the example of Day, Woolsey, Dwight, Brush, Kellogg (of California), Munger and Fisher, — all retiring at seventy (except the last named, a little later).

To hold a professorship is very different from holding a president's chair.

Once more, I am

Gratefully and affectionately yours,

D. C. GILMAN.

REV. JACOB COOPER, LL.D.

The formal resignation of President Gilman, to take effect at the close of the academic year, took place on Commemoration Day, February 22, 1901. It was accompanied by no ceremonial feature nor any valedictory address; but a year later, when the University instituted an elaborate and impressive celebration of the completion of a quarter-century of work, the resignation of President Gilman, and manifold acknowledgments of the greatness of his service to the University and to the country, formed a leading feature of the celebration. The few words that were spoken on the earlier occasion were, however, fraught with the deepest feeling on the part of Mr. Gilman himself and on the part of those who represented the Trustees and the Faculty; and it is pleasant to recall that Mr. Gilman was able to refer, at this his last appearance as active President, to the splendid gift of land to the University and the prospective accompanying addition to its endowment, which made the future of the institution look brighter and more promising than it had done for years.

There were, in fact, three anniversary occasions on which the idea of the quarter-century was in evidence; for Mr. Gilman entered upon the presidency of the University, and began his constructive labors, in January, 1875, and accordingly Commemoration Day (February 22) in 1900 was

marked by the reading of an address by Professor Gildersleeve, presented on behalf of the Faculty and testifying to their appreciation and affection. The address was as follows:

As this is the last public function of the University before the twenty-fifth anniversary of the day when you began the work with which your name will forever be associated, it is the unanimous wish of your colleagues, Mr. President, to make the occasion memorable by an open expression of their loyalty, their affection, and their gratitude.

The symbol of your Presidency of a quarter of a century has just been presented by the sons of a kindred University. It is our privilege to attest what that Presidency means to us who have followed your lead and have been inspired by your example. To all who know what such work as yours demands, the season of preparation, of lonely meditation counts for much; and months before the oldest and earliest of your fellow-workers, the survivors of the first Faculty, were taken into your counsels, you had faced and solved the problems of an organization with which the historian of American education must begin a new chapter, one might say a new volume.

With larger resources other universities have expanded beyond our means but not beyond your hopes and plans, and those hopes and plans antedate the festal inauguration of February 22, 1876, and the modest beginning of work in September of the same year. Those recurrent cycles will doubtless find fitting celebration. This year is your own, and as the retrospect reveals to you more than to any one else the arduousness of the road we have travelled under your guidance, so we wish you to rejoice with a special joy in what has been achieved under your administration.

The world has recognized your services to the University by claiming other services at your hands. The Trustees have already given expression to their regard and confidence. We who have been called, each in his sphere, to carry out the details of the plans which you inaugurated, know, as others cannot know, the wisdom of your counsel, the readi-

ness of your sympathy, the strength of your faith. Your unswerving confidence in the future of the University has done everything to stay the hearts of those who feared the worst from fortune. The liberality, which you could not always hide, has made many things possible, which we should have had to renounce; and the balance of your temper has harmonized the jar of conflicting interests and conflicting aims, inevitable in any great institution of learning.

What the University would have been to-day if your plans had been furthered by the munificence that has been shown to other institutions of learning, we will not ask. This is a day of rejoicing that our life is whole within us, that our hearts still beat high, and our hands are still eager for work. That this is so, we owe in such measure to you that we, the members of the Faculty, desire to place in this Hall a permanent memorial of our first President, a worthy portrait of the man whose fame is indissolubly bound up with every fibre of the growth of the Johns Hopkins University.

An interesting picture of the occasion is contained in a letter written by Mrs. Gilman to their daughters, who were then in Europe:

The 22nd and the 25th Anniversary, and all the surrounding circumstances passed off beautifully. Your father was so showered upon by affection and appreciation and compliment and congratulation all day that he often looked as if he would like an umbrella. The thing that touched him most was the entirely unexpected address of the Faculty on the stage — delivered by Mr. Gildersleeve, whose voice often shook with emotion and was so full of loyal devotion and affection that I feared your father would hardly be able to respond. But he was *perfectly charming*. He took it smilingly and with a look of most surprised pleasure, and when he thanked them, as he did most warmly, he reminded the audience that no university president could do much alone and that he depended for his success entirely on the learn-

ing, enthusiasm and distinction of his Faculty; "so," he concluded, "in their words of praise they are giving me what is truly their own." He could not have spoken better if he had had a week to study it in, and all day he was delightful.

The University's twenty-fifth anniversary was celebrated on February 21 and 22, 1902, with a quiet and imposing dignity which was most gratifying to all its friends. It was made the occasion of the formal installation of Mr. Gilman's successor, President Remsen; and Mr. Gilman himself figured as President Emeritus. The new and the old presidents made addresses; the history of the University was duly touched upon both by them and by distinguished representatives of other institutions. The most impressive moment of the celebration was that in which Professor Woodrow Wilson presented to Mr. Gilman a beautiful volume in which was engrossed "an address of affection and congratulation," bearing the signatures of more than a thousand of the Alumni and Faculty of the University. The opening words of the address are as follows:

We, Members of the Johns Hopkins University, upon this the occasion of your laying down the burdens of your high office, greatly desiring to make formal acknowledgment of our personal obligation to you, unite in a common testimonial of our respect, our gratitude, and our affection.

We believe that the services which you have rendered to education have not been surpassed by those of any other American. If it be true that Thomas Jefferson first laid the broad foundation for American universities in his plans for the University of Virginia, it is no less true that you were the first to create and organize in America a university in which the discovery and dissemination of new truth were conceded a rank superior to mere instruction and in which the efficiency and value of research as an educational instrument were exemplified in the training of many investigators.

In this, your greatest achievement, you established in America a new and higher university ideal, whose essential feature was not stately edifices nor yet the mere association of pupils with learned and eminent teachers, but rather the education of trained and vigorous young minds through the search for truth under the guidance and with the coöperation of master-investigators, — *societas magistrorum et discipulorum*. That your conception was intrinsically sound is attested not only by the fruitfulness of the institution in which it was embodied at Baltimore, but also by its influence upon the development of the university ideal throughout our country and notably at our oldest and most distinguished seats of learning.

One more quotation must suffice — a portion of the address of President Eliot:

Mr. President, twenty-five years ago I had the honor of congratulating President Gilman on his accession to the presidency of this University. We were both then in our prime, and I welcomed him to a task which I knew would call for all his devotion and all his wisdom. And now, President Gilman, I congratulate you on your achievement. . . .

President Gilman, your first achievement here, with the help of your colleagues, your students, and your trustees, has been, to my thinking — and I have had good means of observation — the creation of a school of graduate studies, which not only has been in itself a strong and potent school, but which has lifted every other university in the country in its departments of arts and sciences. I want to testify that the graduate school of Harvard University, started feebly in 1870 and 1871, did not thrive until the example of Johns Hopkins forced our Faculty to put their strength into the development of our instruction for graduates. And what was true of Harvard was true of every other university in the land which aspired to create an advanced school of arts and sciences.

Next, I congratulate you, sir, on the prodigious advancement of medical teaching which has resulted from the

labors of the Johns Hopkins faculty of medicine. The twenty-five years just past are the most extraordinary twenty-five years in the whole history of our race. Nothing is done as it was done twenty-five years ago; the whole social and industrial organization of our country has changed; the whole university organization of our country has changed, but among all the changes there is none greater than that wrought in the development of medical teaching and research; and these men whom you, sir, summoned here have led the way. . . . Among the achievements of Johns Hopkins University in the last twenty-five years, let this improvement of medical teaching be counted as one of superb beneficence.

And thirdly, sir, I wish to mention as an achievement of this university under your leadership, that it has promoted, and taught others to promote, research, scientific investigation, the careful probing of external nature and man's nature in the hope of discovering some new thing which may lead on to another new thing. This is a very genuine, substantial and durable achievement of this young university, and I desire here to congratulate you all upon it, and to recognize the full scope and meaning of the policy which led to this great issue.

As has been already said, there was no thought in Mr. Gilman's mind, when he decided to lay down the cares of the presidency of Johns Hopkins, that a new field would be opened for the exercise of his powers in the shaping and guidance of another great project for the promotion of knowledge. It happens to be possible to state the exact time, and the exact way, in which the possibility of a great gift by Mr. Carnegie, and Mr. Carnegie's desire to consult him on the subject, was brought to Mr. Gilman's knowledge. A letter from Andrew D. White, dated at the Embassy of the United States in Berlin, May 20, 1901 (six months after Mr. Gilman's letter of resignation), tells of

talks that the writer had had "in a certain quarter," on the project of the endowment of "a great American university" at Washington, and asks for Mr. Gilman's views on the subject. A postscript to the letter contains the first indication of the identity of the person from whom the act of munificence was looked for; and besides thus showing how new the matter was to Mr. Gilman, it is exceedingly interesting in itself:

P. S. You have doubtless divined the person above mentioned. I have felt quite sure that you would, but under strict injunctions not to say anything about such a project being under discussion, I did not feel at liberty to mention the name. But this morning I received a letter which contains these words: "Please write Gilman and arrange meeting at Skibo. Middle of July will suit us. Mr. and Mrs. Gilman have already an invitation to visit us; make your own time. It would probably be best before the 12th of August, but September will suit us." . . .

Let me hear from you fully, especially as to the time when you can meet me there. It is a chance for us to render to education and to our country the culminating service of our lives; and I am ready to throw down everything in order to do my part in presenting the matter. . . .

I perhaps ought to add that Mr. C. has from the first expressed the wish that I consult and discuss with you, preparatory to a full discussion with him, and that he especially requests that not a word be lispd as to any thought of, much less any actual discussion of any such plan as that herein referred to.

Write me fully, I beg of you. Who knows that we may not meet again in council at Washington, and on the most important work with which either of us has had to do. What a winding up of our old relations, which have always been so close, that would be!

Owing in part to difficulties that lay in the way of his going to Europe, and in part to a certain reluctance, Mr. Gilman did not follow the suggestion of Mr. White, though

he shared the youthful enthusiasm of his fellow-septuagenarian at the prospect of taking part in one more enterprise — and that the most splendid — for the advancement of the highest intellectual interests of his country and of the world. Accordingly it was not until November, 1901, that Mr. Gilman had his first interview with Mr. Carnegie on the great scheme. This took place, by appointment, at Mr. Carnegie's house in New York. That the plan of the projected institution, while it had been engaging Mr. Carnegie's thoughts for some months, had not yet assumed anything like definite shape, is evident in many ways; and it appears from Mr. Gilman's letter, written to Mr. White immediately after the interview, that Mr. Carnegie asked him and Dr. Billings, who was the only other person present, to prepare a paper embodying their ideas of what should be done. From the same letter it appears that Mr. Carnegie said to Mr. Gilman, at this first interview, "You must be President." The whole scheme, however, evidently remained very much in the air for a time; the general impression in the country, derived doubtless from fragmentary indications of what was afoot, was that some kind of university was to be founded. While nothing can be said authoritatively as to the degree in which it was Mr. Gilman's judgment and influence that decided the shape the endowment finally took, there is no great risk in assuming that it was the weight of his counsel that had the chief share in determining the lines on which the Carnegie Institution was constructed, and entered upon its unique work in promoting the advancement of knowledge. Speaking of his first interview, Mr. Gilman says, in "The Launching of a University":

Mr. Carnegie raised many hard questions: How is it that knowledge is increased? How can rare intellects be discovered in the undeveloped stages? Where is the excep-

tional man to be found? Would a new institution be regarded as an injury to Johns Hopkins, or to Harvard, Yale, Columbia, or any other university? What should the term "knowledge" comprise? Who should be the managers of the institution? How broad or how restricted should be the terms of the gift?

These are only examples of the perplexing problems which presented themselves to one who was not anxious for fame; not devoted to a hobby; not inclined to impose limitations, but who had an eye single to the good of his adopted country, and through our country to the good of the world.

It will not do for me to tell at this time who were his chosen counsellors in the incipient stages of his plan, but they were many in number, including some whose names have not been publicly mentioned. Gradually the idea, which was seen at first in broad outlines only, took definite shape, as, under the sculptor's hands, an image becomes shapely, comely, and life-like.

At the first meeting of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution, which was held in Washington, January 29, 1902, Mr. Gilman was elected President of the Institution; and in an address to the Trustees he gave the following story of his preliminary connection with it, and of certain features of the situation which had developed in relation to the idea of a National University:¹

My first knowledge of Mr. Carnegie's intention to make this gift was at the end of November, when I went to his house, and Dr. Billings and I listened to his reflections on the whole subject and heard him say that he was prepared to give \$10,000,000. It was very clear in his mind at that time that he did not wish to establish what we commonly

¹ The remarks were extemporaneous, and do not appear in the printed report of the proceedings of the meeting. The notes here (in part) reproduced were found among Mr. Gilman's papers, and appear to be a stenographic report.

consider to be and what we call a university; I need not dwell on what we mean by that. We understood it, he understood it, and what we ordinarily call a university was no part of his plan. It was very attractive to him to think that a great deal could be done in our time by our people for the advancement of human knowledge. He was not unaware of the many great efforts that are now in progress. He especially knew what was being done by the Smithsonian Institution. The President of that Institution is an old friend of his. He knew of colleges, he knew something of independent funds; but they all put together amount to a sum very much below what he was willing to give, and without interfering with them, and supplementing them if necessary, adding to them if possible, he proposed to make this generous gift. He was also at that time desirous of aiming to help out men of extraordinary talent; not necessarily of extraordinary poverty, but of extraordinary talent; if by any process such men can be discovered—that was his object. They need not necessarily be young men. He also thought of men of very considerable station, character and attainments, who, as they grow older, are shelved, retired and have no opportunity to carry on their work; men of middle life, perhaps. He did not restrict the age. The point was to find if possible deserving men and help them forward. That was his idea at the first interview. Very soon he began to consult others, partly by letter, partly by special interviews, and presently he asked Mr. Hewitt, of New York, Mr. Walcott, the head of the Geological Survey, and Colonel Wright, the head of the Bureau of Labor, to act with him and Dr. Billings, as a kind of preliminary advisory committee; and we have had a great many interviews with him, formally and informally, two of them in Washington, the others in New York. The plan has been talked over in a great many details.

There has been a very large amount of thought and care bestowed on the scope and purposes of this plan, which I will not enter upon now, for you and others will do so presently.

There are two other factors that ought to be in your minds, because you will be asked about them, and it is very

important that you should have very clear ideas of the relations of this Institution in the future.

In the first place, for a long period, — since 1873, certainly, — Governor Hoyt and others working with him, including a very large number of the universities of the Western states, had been urging upon Congress the establishment of a National University, and many of them were disappointed to see this, which they think might have gone to a National University, go instead to a separate institution. We shall probably hear that. But I beg you to bear in mind that such a university as they have projected, as people commonly understand and speak of when they speak of the National University, is still left untouched. If Congress should see fit to establish a National University or, as Mr. Carnegie says in his letter yesterday, if others should see fit to do it, this does not interfere at all; it may even be helpful to his institution. That question is not touched at all by his gift.

There is also another interesting movement which you should understand. Those of you who live in Washington know it very well, those who come from a distance may not clearly understand it. It is this: The patriotic women of this country, organized in various associations, informed the nation some years ago that the best thing they could do would be to put up a building in Washington as a memorial to his name. And they organized a committee, they induced subscriptions. They did not go very rapidly but they did get some subscriptions, and I have been told, although it may not be authentic, that they raised about \$40,000. They expressed in their circulars the hope that this building would be the central administrative building of the possible supposititious national university, — and, as you see, that was a little vague, because the national university did not exist. . . .

Then the ladies in their historical association, joining with the scientific men of Washington, who were called the Washington Academy of Sciences — not merely of Washington but of the country at large — formed another association, which bears the name, not of the Washington Me-

morial Association, but the Washington Memorial Institution. And in June last they organized to elect a chairman and secretary, very much as we have organized here. It was supposed all through the summer, until late in the autumn, that that institution would go forward, correspond with the various departments in Washington and announce to the young men of the country that they might come here and have these opportunities if they chose to avail themselves of them. Then came the surprise of Mr. Carnegie's gift, so far transcending anything that anybody had thought of or hoped for that everything else has been at a standstill, and there has been a great deal of curiosity, not only in Washington but throughout the country, to know what is going to happen. But you will observe that the field is still left for these ladies to put up their memorial building. Such a building is undoubtedly needed in Washington for the assembling of scientific and benevolent and patriotic societies that come here from time to time. Such a building, if properly constructed, would be very useful, and, if the ladies should raise the money for it, I think all the world would rejoice if such a building was secured for the city of Washington. But what I want to impress on everybody here is that Mr. Carnegie's gift neither interferes with the idea of a national university, if it should ever come to the point again, nor does it interfere with these ladies who have been governed by their patriotic, enthusiastic and benevolent ideas of what can be done. I speak of them with admiration and respect for their purposes and efforts. Those are the antecedent facts.

Now, as we began to talk it over, it was very clear that there were three great directions in which Mr. Carnegie's gift might be utilized. Without entering into details they are these: In the first place, distinctively, the encouragement of investigation, and, as he said over and again in his letter, that investigation is not to go forward in any one place, either in Washington or elsewhere, but is to be in coöperation with existing institutions wherever they may be prepared to carry on such work, whether here or elsewhere. That is the first thing — the advancement of research.

A second thing was the encouragement of unusual talent where it can be secured. Nobody has tried to work out, so far as I know, the mode in which that talent might be encouraged, but the general notion is very clearly fixed that in some way or other special encouragement should be given to persons of unusual talent to devote themselves to this or that line of inquiry.

And then the third purpose is to secure the publication of very extended memoirs, for which there is at present no adequate provision. Gentlemen in this room could tell you of many things that have been kept back from the public which we believe would be of great advantage to the world if they were printed. As it is, they have not yet been allowed to see the light. Those are the three things to which attention has been directed;—the advancement of knowledge; the encouragement of talent; and the publication of results.

I also, before I sit down, wish to name one other point, and that is the extreme desire of the founder, if I am authorized to speak for him, and of those who have been associated with him, to go before the world in a spirit of hearty coöperation. I cannot imagine anything like rivalry existing between this institution and any other which exists; but I can imagine a great many ways in which this institution can be of service to existing institutions, and I think the first note of all our proceedings will be that of coöperation with what exists and welcoming other things that may be brought to our knowledge. If I had time I would expand a little on the opportunities, but it is hardly best to do so at the present moment.

The general aim of the Carnegie Institution, the purposes which its magnificent income of half a million a year is designed to promote, are now well known, both through numerous statements and discussions and through the record of its actual work. However, it may not be out of place to reproduce here a concise statement which was officially issued soon after its foundation:

Among its aims are these:

To increase the efficiency of the universities and other institutions of learning throughout the country by seeking to utilize and add to their existing facilities, and to aid teachers in the various institutions for experimental and other work in these institutions as far as practicable.

To discover the invaluable and exceptional man in every department of study, whenever and wherever found, inside or outside of the schools, and enable him by financial aid to make the work for which he seems specially designed his life work.

To promote original research, paying great attention thereto, as being one of the chief purposes of this institution.

To increase facilities for higher education.

To make more useful, to such students as may find Washington the best point for their special studies, the museums, libraries, laboratories, observatory, meteorological, piscicultural and forestry schools, and kindred institutions of the several departments of the Government.

To insure the prompt publication and distribution of the results of scientific investigation, a field considered to be highly important.

Entrusted with the leading position in the administration of this large and novel project, President Gilman devoted himself with his old-time energy to enlarging his knowledge of the facts bearing on the problem before him and securing the advice and suggestions of able men in all departments of scientific effort. Besides consulting with the leaders in American science, he made a tour of Europe in the spring of 1902, during which he conversed with a large number of the foremost scientific men of the chief countries of Europe, and familiarized himself with many of the circumstances and factors bearing upon the work in which they were engaged. It did not turn out, however, that the organization of the institution was of such character as to give him that position of the unifying force — the agency by means of which all the streams of effort were

coördinated and harmonized—to which he had been accustomed in the past. The direction of affairs was in the hands of the Executive Committee; and, although Mr. Gilman was chairman of that committee, besides being President of the institution, yet the subordination of the latter office to the authority of the committee was such as not to give to the President the degree of initiative and of influence which Mr. Gilman felt to be necessary to the thoroughly successful execution of his functions. His usefulness to the Institution, not only in relation to the shaping of its purposes and general plan, but also in the actual conduct of its activities during its initial years, was of course very great, but the situation was not such as to fulfill Mr. Gilman's conception of the duties and opportunities of such a post. He had, naturally enough, indicated at the beginning that, assuming the duties of the presidency at such an advanced age, his tenure of the post would not be long; but his decision to resign was immediately occasioned by the considerations that have just been mentioned. It is characteristic of him that he devoted the last portion of the time of his incumbency to an earnest effort to secure such modification of the by-laws of the Institution as would make the status of his successor such as he felt it ought to be; and, in point of fact, the by-laws were modified in the direction desired by Mr. Gilman, though not perhaps to the full extent of his propositions, at the close of his last year. Notice of his intention to resign at the end of his third year had been given by him a year before, and the change was too late to affect his own action in any way.

Mr. Gilman's resignation as President of the Carnegie Institution was formally presented and accepted at the meeting of the Board of Trustees, December 13, 1904.

A few short letters may be appended to the foregoing

brief account of Mr. Gilman's connection with the Carnegie Institution :

To Andrew D. White:

BALTIMORE, December 7, 1901.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have sent you two letters recently showing the progress of the idea. Within the last week matters have moved with extreme rapidity, and I have not kept up with all the proceedings. I presume everything will be made known next week and you will hear by cable before any word of mine can reach you. The plan has had various modifications, some of them originating with the principal factor, some of them urged upon him by others. *The result is grand* and its effect, if I am not mistaken, will be to inspire and strengthen every institution in the land.

I think you will hear from our mutual friend, probably by cable, as soon as he is ready to speak.

BALTIMORE, December 20, 1901.

MY DEAR A. D. W.:

I saw our munificent friend on Monday in Washington, where he went for a conference with the President.

Much opposition has developed on one point, the acceptance by Congress of U. S. Steel Corp. bonds, and the donor withdraws the original form of his proposition. He returned at once to N. Y. intending to institute a private corporation; but I think it will take him some days to perfect this part of his plan. I notice that he is both deliberate and prompt; slow to form an opinion, — quick to give his opinions form. I am assured that his main purpose is as firm as ever.

BALTIMORE, December 29, 1901.

DEAR A. D. W.:

I have kept you informed of the progress of events. On Friday last, 27th, I met at the house of Mr. Carnegie, Mr. A. S. Hewitt, Dr. Billings and Mr. Walcott. Suggestions and counter suggestions were made,— and finally the list

of names of Trustees, and a brief statement, for their information. Of course your name has been at the front since the beginning. I hope you will cable to Mr. Carnegie your acceptance. The present plan is to incorporate in the Dist. of Columbia, next Saturday, January 4, elect the Directors, and call a meeting of them at an early day for organization. Not everything has gone on as you would prefer, nor as others would prefer, but on the whole I am delighted with the plan.

To the family circle at Norwich:

Feb. 2, 1902.

As you told me that you were watching the papers, you have doubtless learned all that there is to be told of the plans of the C. I. of Washington, — and of my connection with it. This is the best opportunity for usefulness that has ever come to me, and it makes me feel as if I were *forty* once more. I see so much to do, and I am so happy to be a part in the doing.

Mr. Carnegie to Mr. Gilman:

SKIBO CASTLE, October 27, 1902.

DEAR PRINCIPAL:

I shall not be present, I fear, at Annual Meeting, Washington, as we do not reach New York until Nov. 27th. Very sorry. We have never been tied here so late by engagements.

Andrew White was with us [at] St. Andrew's and got his degree; a great day — he was very well indeed. Shall see you soon after arrival, no doubt. Pray explain my absence to your distinguished colleagues. I hope they can all attend.

Do not forget the annual dinner together. Nothing creates and maintains good fellowship like a common feast.

One round, I ask it with a tear
To him the one that's far awa.

Kind regards to Madam; hope she has recovered.

Yours ever,

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

NEW YORK, December 10, 1903.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

We were fortunate enough to see your wife the morning we left, but I knew you were busy. It was a surprise to me that you felt it necessary to give up your labors. Two things I cannot deny. It is your duty to harbor your strength, and, second, that you will retire knowing that you have given the Institution a splendid start. You promised to remain Trustee — for so much, thanks.

All great men have their special feature. If I were asked what yours was, I should say, that which draws all men after him, pleasing everybody and offending nobody, doing the absolutely necessary ungentle things in a gentle way. You illustrate the supreme force of gentleness, and among all that have benefited thereby, none more than your humble servant, with whom you have been uniformly gentle, even in your admonitions.

I like you.

Yours always,

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

December 19, 1904.

I have received the documents you sent. Changes are always painful, especially such as accentuate the march of the grand procession, which never stops, and sweeps us all with it. You have one satisfaction, that every one of your colleagues in the Carnegie Institution rejoices in having had an opportunity to know you, and has placed you in the circle of his treasured. Among these, pray do not forget to count

Yours ever,

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

And, in lieu of comment, this chapter may fitly close with the letter in which Dr. Huntington welcomed Mr. Gilman to his new field of labor:

GRACE CHURCH RECTORY, NEW YORK,

Feb. 1, 1902.

DEAR DR. GILMAN:

I doubt whether there is another instance in history where one and the same man has been the leader in the founding

of three great universities. I feel proud of you both as my countryman and as my neighbor. You have a right to take to yourself the closing portion of Tennyson's *Ulysses*, beginning with the words, "Come, my friends, 'T is not too late to seek a newer world," etc. Doubtless you know them by heart, but I trust that I am the first of your many friends to make this application of them. I congratulate you most heartily, and most heartily also I am yours,

W. R. HUNTINGTON.

PRESIDENT GILMAN,

Dilectissimus et ter reverendus.

CHAPTER VIII

HOME LIFE AND PERSONAL TRAITS

It is not the design of this book to enter into the particulars of the personal history of Mr. Gilman, or to portray in detail his home life. In 1861, at the age of thirty, he married Miss Mary Ketcham, who died in 1869, leaving two daughters, Alice (now Mrs. Everett P. Wheeler), and Elisabeth; and in 1877 he married Miss Elisabeth Dwight Woolsey, who survives him. The first Mrs. Gilman was a woman of sweet and loving nature, who bore with patience and serenity the suffering that ill health brought to her during the latter part of her brief married life. In his second marriage Mr. Gilman found one who during more than thirty years was a devoted and sympathetic companion, the sharer of his interests in great affairs and of his home affections. When it is said that throughout his life his home, with its deep and constant affections, was ever a true refuge from the anxieties and strains of his manifold labors and responsibilities, all is said that need be said in a work of this character as to his domestic history.

But even if no attempt be made to narrate the story of his family life, to omit all reference to the nature of it would be to leave untouched an element which is necessary to the portrayal of his character. So little was Mr. Gilman given to any manifestation of emotion, and so constant was his habit of personal reserve, that even men who were closely associated with him for many years were not likely to suspect that the tenderest attachment to his home circle played the part it did in his life. Indeed, he might easily have been supposed deficient in sentiment in general, were it not that on some rare occasion there would be a manifestation

of deep emotion — as on occasions by no means rare there was the manifestation of practical kindness, sympathy and helpfulness — which showed that under that exterior of reserve and reticence there were deep springs of feeling. But in his family affection is seen something more than this — there was in it a depth and constancy that are not often met with, and which are peculiarly touching in the case of a man of the masterful traits that distinguished Mr. Gilman. His deep attachment to his brothers and sisters, so manifest in the records of his boyhood, was preserved in all its intensity in his manhood and old age; and the love and devotion which pervaded his own immediate family circle formed the chief happiness of his life.

A letter from his elder sister Maria, acknowledging the receipt of a photograph of Mr. Gilman when he was approaching his seventy-fifth birthday, may serve to indicate the nature of the feeling between him and his sisters and brothers:

Mch. 4, 1906.

“Facing 75!”

Yes, but *facing it*, with courage, hope, and good cheer! Not idly looking back on unfinished work — not bemoaning what might have been, but standing firm in the present, resolutely looking forward, assured that

“The best is yet to be —

The whole of life for which the first was planned — ”

That dear face that I have loved these many years, since the July day when Grandma told me that I had a new little brother — that face that I have seen grow in strength and sweetness — that has ever beamed on me with love and sympathy, helping me to move on steadily through all vicissitudes.

I cannot put into words all that I read in this picture of the past, the present and the future — while gratitude is uppermost in my heart for such a brother.

The family all like the photograph, but I am going to keep it for my very own — and while it stays in my room I shall take many excursions with you, my dear brother, beginning in the old garden in Washington St. and extending far and wide, by river side and mountains and through crowded city streets. We always had plenty to talk about! Always shall — I believe — here or there —

While I remain your fond old sister, MARIA.

Another sister had gone out to California to help him supply, to the little daughters, the place of the mother they had lost. One of his letters to her gives brief expression to his feeling of what she had done for him and the children:

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
OAKLAND, CAL., May 16, 1873.

MY DEAR LOUISE:

One of the last acts before I surrender this house shall be the writing of a line to you, thanking you with all my heart for your coöperation this winter. I know you did not want to come, but from the moment when you decided to do so you have generously and unselfishly entered with enthusiasm into all my plans, and I feel as I have often said that not only the children and I but the University is greatly indebted to you for coming and helping. I think that in no six months of their lives have our little folks been better physically and morally than they have been here, and they owe to your incessant watchfulness and care their daily health and happiness. You don't like to have me say very much, so I forbear, for if I should try to add all I think, I suppose that even California would not contain the books which I might write in your praise! so give my best love to Maria and Emily, thank them for letting you come, hold yourself ready for what will turn up next, keep a sharp eye to Alice and Lizzie, and believe me ever

Your grateful and devoted brother,

D. C. G.

Along with this may go another letter to his sister Louise, written on the day when his youngest daughter had been confirmed:

BALT., Mch. 24. 80.

MY DEAR LOUISE:

I haven't seen all the notes (one which I did see was just right) from your pen to which I have heard allusions within a few days; but I am sure you have been with us in thought, and that we should all have enjoyed having you with us today when our Lizzie (not much longer to be called "little") confirmed the engagements made for her long ago. Have you happened to think that she is at just the age of Alice when she came forward, and that both of them were twelve years old, the very age at which their Master declared that he must be about his Father's business. You would be pleased if you could see how the seed which you planted in Lizzie's heart is steadily maturing, and how sweetly and naturally, without any urgency from others, she desires to be a full participant in all the promises. She has had gentle teaching, these last three winters,—teaching quite in accord with what you used to give. Dr. Hodges of St. Pauls Church is discreet and considerate and has left "the instructions" which the rules require, almost exclusively to motherly lips; so I don't think Lizzie has any very sharp idea of ecclesiastical differences, but thinks that the outside variances are quite secondary and that in reality she is now at one with you and me, and her grand parents, and Alice, quite as much as with those to whose forms of worship she is now conforming.

Ever your loving
D. C. G.

A few of his letters to his daughters during their childhood are given below, in chronological order. The letters of the summer of 1876, when the Johns Hopkins University was about to be opened, were written to them while they were travelling in Europe with their aunt Louise.

DENVER, August 21, 1872.

DEAR ALICE AND LIZZIE:

After I wrote you from St. Louis we took the cars, and kept travelling to the West for two days and nights, sleeping quite comfortably in the Pullman car and getting very good meals, three times a day, at the railroad stations.

The first part of our way lay along the South bank of the Missouri River, and was very pleasant. By and by we came to Jefferson City, where we saw the state house, with its big dome, on the river bank visible a great way off. For lunch we had delicious peaches, pears and grapes, which I should have been glad to share with you.

About 11 o'clock Monday Eve^g we passed through Kansas City and soon after entered the state of Kansas. It took us two nights and a day to cross this state, the eastern part of which is very beautiful, but the western is part of a dry weary plain, almost as level as the sea. It was a dull ride, but we had books and fruit and easy chairs and were not much tired by it. Occasionally we saw buffaloes, first three, then one, then a herd. We saw a great many cattle grazing and in one drove we were told there were three or four thousand. As we crossed the Plains we were all the while rising higher and higher and at Denver this morning we were more than 5000 feet above the sea.

As we came near the town we saw Pike's Peak on the south and Long's Peak north, and a range of mountains stretching for nearly two hundred miles before us, many of the peaks being over 10,000 feet high and some of them near 15,000.

I don't suppose little Lizzie can understand these big figures, and Alice can hardly appreciate what they mean, but Aunt Louise will be interested in them, and if Aunt Maria could only see the peaks themselves, I am not sure but she would try to jump as high as they are.

We have spent today in a carriage ride of forty miles to Turkey Creek Cañon, and to Golden City, a ride full of fine views.

I enclose for Alice a picture of Denver, and the mountains in the distance west of it, and for Lizzie a picture of the real way to ride papoose-back. There are Ute squaws here and this shows how they carry their babies.

Tell Aunt Emmie that I thought that this was a good place to buy some Indian portraits for Miss Thomas and so I have chosen a few for her wh. I mail with this letter.

Tomorrow we set out for Cheyenne and Salt Lake City, where we hope to spend next Sunday.

Alice may send this note to Grandma, with my love, if she thinks it will be interesting.

Ever your loving father.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
OAKLAND, CAL., Sept. 14, 1873.

MY DEAR LITTLE LIZZIE:

This is a bright Sunday morning, and I am sitting at the open window on the front of the new Hotel looking toward the college buildings and to the Berkeley Hills beyond. By my side are the colored pictures of Alice and you, and on the mirror frame over the mantel are two of the later photographs, — and in my pocket, on the left side of my coat, very near you know what, is the little card photograph with Alice and you in one picture. So you see that tho' you are far away and I cannot hear your voice, I have your face before me all the while. Almost every one who comes into my room says "these are your little girls" and they seem to think that I seem to think a great deal of you. I rather think they are right! Since last Sunday, I have rec^d a very nice note from you, dictated to one of your Aunties at Newport, and telling me about Berkeley Avenue and Berkeley Rocks and Berkeley Organ, and asking about Berkeley College and how it is getting along.

I went there yesterday with Mr. Hallidie and with Dr. Storrs of New York (H. M.) and with Dr. Movar. The wooden building of which you saw the corner stone laid is now done. My office is carpeted, and my books are in the book case. The black-board on which you used to write is there ready for you to use next winter and the chairs are in the recitation rooms. In a few days we shall have a telegraphic wire right to the buildings, and *I should not wonder* if one of the first messages sent across that wire would go to *two little girls in Connecticut* from their loving Papa. The grounds are still rough, but we are going to put a gang of

DEAR ALICE AND LIZZIE

After I was
kept travelling
quite some time
making things

The first part
the Mountain Road
came to Jefferson City
leaving home on the
lunch we had left home
should have been glad to

About 11 o'clock Mr.
sas City and soon after came
us two nights and a day to
of which is very beautiful but
weary plain almost as level as
but we had books and fruit and
much tired by it. Occasionally we
then one then a herd. We saw a goat
and in one drove we were told there
thousand. As we crossed the Plains
rising higher and higher and at Denver
were more than 5000 feet above the sea.

As we came near the town we saw Pike's Peak
south and Long's Peak north and a range
stretching for nearly two hundred miles before
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the real way to ride papoose-back. There are Ute squaws
here and this shows how they carry their babies.

at the home of Dr. Sears (Peabody Education Fund agent), looking from his doorstep on seventy five miles of the Blue Ridge, and hearing his story of the progress of the South. By night ride again we came here from Staunton. In the morning we saw the Governor, School Superintendent Ruffner and various other officials, visited Houdon's statue of Washington, Crawford's Washington, the new monument to Stonewall Jackson, etc. In the afternoon we drove to the Libby Prison, Jefferson Davis's house, the Cemetery, etc., etc., Mr. Gildersleeve acting as guide, aided by a black coachman who told the tale of the war with great volubility. In the evening came a tea party, and in the course of it a call on Mrs. Lewis, who met me like an old old friend, though I never saw her before. . . .

RALEIGH, N. C., July 5.

MY DEAR SISTER AND CHILDREN:

I wrote you from Richmond on Sunday. I thought that letters from you would reach me there, but they did not, and my last tidings are those which announce your arrival in Oxford. The weather has been our extreme summer heat, so that this journey has not been exhilarating, and to me the lively recollection of the war, called out by the sight of so many places familiar hitherto by their names alone, — and the free conversation of the Southerners in respect to all that has occurred, — all this has made the journey somewhat depressing. I am amazed, however, to see how little of ill feeling remains; men and battles and affairs are talked over by the people we have met, as if we were speaking of the Revolution instead of the Civil War.

BALTIMORE, July 23, 1876.

MY OWN DEAR LIZZIE:

I came "home" last evening: but it is a queer kind of home to come to, no Alice, no Lizzie, no Aunty Lou; but a colored boy on the door step, and Mr. Chancellor as demure as possible in the office, and an empty room, hot and close, with a package of more than thirty letters to be looked into. I ran my fingers over them quickly and spied the Paris postmark, and Alice's direction, and within the envelope

I found your note of July 2, and her note of July 5, and Aunt Lou's of the same date; and very quickly I forgot that I was alone and thought I was in Paris keeping your June birthday in the Bois de Boulogne, with red, white and blue posies and the May children, and three Aunties and one sister; and then that I was climbing to the top of the Pantheon with Aunt Maria and you; and then that I heard you ask the waiter for de l'eau, s'il vous plait, and heard the lady in whose house you are tell you in French that you were a good little girl. This morning when I woke up, I was just as far away from you as ever; but I have a right good time in knowing that you all are having right good times, and that next winter you will have scores of lively stories to tell me as we look over the photographs and read the diaries together.

We have had very warm weather lately, and Mr. Sylvester has gone to England to cool off. But today there has been a change and the air reminds me of California spring. I saw, a few days ago, Mr. Wilkinson, who told me about Maud and asked me about you and sent his love to you; and this evening I have been with Dr. Thomas to Mr. Cheston's, where we were in the spring, and I have had answered many questions about you all. Before long I hope to see your Grandpa and Grandma, and New Haven cousins. You are very good, and Alice too, to write me so often. I know it is hard work, especially for you; but it gives much pleasure to your ownie

PAPA.

BALTIMORE, October 1, 1876.

MY DEAR SISTER AND CHILDREN:

Here it is October 1, — the month has come when you are to return, and already I begin to think of the greetings we shall give one another a few weeks hence. I want you here right away! So much is transpiring that I cannot put upon paper, of a kind that would interest you. The last month has been full of interest and excitement, but not of a kind to describe. One by one, the professors, associates and fellows have been assembling and I have heard their confidential stories of hope, and regret, and desires and

aims, — till I seem to myself to be a great repository of secrets, — or rather of confidences. Most of them I have invited to dine or to tea, and not a few have spent long evenings with me in the rooms you know as Mr. Johnson's. I could not have shared all this with you, but some things about it you would all have enjoyed. — Charlie Lanman sits here now as I write, just after dinner, and interposes all sorts of comments on matters new and old. This evening, our young California friend Royce is to take tea with me. Professor Remsen went to Mr. Jones's with me this morning. After church I went to see Dr. Martin, who is laid up with a chill, and at breakfast Professor Sylvester opened his budget and unfolded it till nearly ten o'clock. On Friday last I had a little dinner party for Dr. Billings, who is about sailing for Europe as the representative of the J. H. Hospital people. I shall give him your address and he thinks he may lodge at the West. P. Hotel. Professor Newcomb came from Washington also, and we had our professors, — and Howard's ebony face gleamed with delight as the ox-tail soup was praised, — little dreaming of the dire announcement which was to reach him at the end of the dinner. But our new landlord late in the evening told Howard that he and Jerry and Wesley and all the sable tribe which supplied us in their leisurely way with beef-steaks and ice-creams, were to close up and leave at the end of twenty-four hours. So yesterday there were partings and pangs, alleviated by occasional fees, — and this morning there are new faces in the restaurant from head-man down.

Tuesday evening we assemble and meet together, Professors, Fellows, scholars and all. The gathering is to be informal and social, — but in the course of it I intend to make a few brief remarks. Our main rooms are all in order, the office carpeted — the other rooms furnished with desks and chairs. Our library is well begun. Books and instruments arrive by every steamer, and before next Sunday the wheels will all be in motion. The result of years and months of planning will soon appear.

So no more, till next time

from your most loving

D. C. G.

VILLENEUVE, August 12 [1877].

MY DEAR ALICE:

I must write you a special letter, which you need not show to any body else, of thanks for your capital letters, to Mamma and to me, during all our tour. They are so frequent, so frank and full, so loving and so bright that we take the greatest pleasure in them. I am glad you are having so good a summer. All you tell about it seems just right. The readings in Norwich and the ridings in New Haven are both excellent for you. I wish I could have seen you at the head of the eight grandchildren around Grandma's table. I look forward with eagerness to next winter, when we shall have so many nice readings together. We are already homeward bound. We shall not again be so high up or so far off as we have been. Before next Sunday we hope to reach Paris.

This is a most resting day. The house is quite empty — though there is to be an English service in the parlor — the sky is bright, and the Lake looks tranquil and inviting as ever. Our rooms overlook the gardens, and the lake and the hills, — and we shall take plenty of refreshment in the midst of all this enjoyment.

Goodbye, my own most loving Alice.

Your loving father,

D. C. G.

And now it is just ten years since I heard a little cry and saw a little face and found my own darling little child, who was to be a delight to her dear mother for nearly two years, — and then for many years more to her dear father, and sister, and many other friends. I hurried to the telegraph office and sent word to Grandpa, that he had another grandchild, and very soon his answer came back with some loving words. I remember how Grandma Gilman when she heard you were to have her name and be a new Elizabeth sent you a silver spoon and knife and fork, and how more than a year later your dear mother chose for you a cup and wrote for it a loving inscription which she thought you would one day read with pleasure. I remember how fond you were of the pansies which grew in our door yard and how you delighted to pick them and bring them. You were ill one season and

then were quite well again — and this made your mamma say that you were once her *Pensée* and were now her *Heart's Ease*. Aunt Lou can tell you just how she said it. I remember how good Aunt Lou and Aunt Lizzie and many more were when you were sick; and how the hope of making you strong and well made me listen with favor to the California invitation. I remember much more which I will not tell you now, — for I want to say a word about the days to come, and tell you that I hope the next ten years will be even happier than the last, and that you will really become “a happy useful Christian woman.” You know whose wish that was. This birthday of yours always brings to mind another birthday more than 1800 years ago. I never fail to think that the Mother's name was Mary and her nearest friend Elizabeth. You may guess if you can all the rest of the thoughts of your loving father and your new loving mother, as I write from Newport, Dec. 25, 1877.

May 14, 1905.

DEAREST ALICE:

If weeks were marked as days are marked Red in the calendars, I should find last week so distinguished because I have twice been seated at my daughter's table! It is delightful to see you in your own home, and the quiet hour that we three spent together on Wednesday before the Bishop's friendly incursion will not soon be forgotten.

There is little to report since we left you, except an informal dinner given to Dr. Osler last evening by a few of those who have been most closely associated with him in the Medical Faculty of J. H. U. We sat down fourteen in number, including all the medical professors, Barker and Thayer the elect, and one or two outsiders. My seat was next to Dr. Osler, and we had a most interesting talk on Baltimore, — Oxford, — Books, — Colleagues, — Successors, — and so on without any reference to *Age* or *Speeches*. He would not consent to any formalities, so we only drank his health standing and he said a few words in recognition of the compliment. He sails next Friday on the *White Star*, and he expects to come and spend some weeks here next winter. . . .

The year's work in Baltimore was so engrossing, and each day so full of engagements, that Mr. Gilman looked forward with especial zest and pleasure to the summer, which gave him not only rest but also freedom for more varied occupations. Between 1875 and 1908 he spent seven summers in Europe, and one in Alaska and California, besides the long winter holiday, 1889-90, when he took his family on a noteworthy trip to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean; but it was to the island of Mount Desert that his thoughts usually turned in anticipation or in retrospect of the enjoyment of vacation days. The summer of 1881 was spent at Bar Harbor, but it was not until 1885 that he learned to know Northeast Harbor, when he and Mrs. Gilman made a visit to President and Mrs. Eliot. They were so charmed by the beauty of the place, the simplicity of the life, the group of pleasant people whom they met, that they decided to come the following summer with their family to a little hotel at Northeast Harbor. Thus began, in 1886, the delightful summer life which continued for more than twenty years. At the hotel, the life was like that of a large family, many persons being really cousins, and others friendly and congenial, so that very naturally a custom arose of Mr. Gilman reading aloud for an hour after breakfast. It was most informal, a dozen persons sometimes sharing with the family the pleasure of hearing some book of history or travel, which Mr. Gilman had chosen with care before leaving home. Even this description makes it sound more formal than it really was, and it is only mentioned as characteristic of the pleasant circle of friends, of whom Mr. Gilman was in many ways the leader, and of his desire to redeem an hour each day for something really worth while to young and old.

After a few years, life in a hotel, however enjoyable, did not seem the best plan for a three months' sojourn, and Mr. Gilman bought land and built a cottage, — literally on a

rocky cliff and therefore given the name "Over-Edge." Here for many years was found the most complete home life possible for Mr. and Mrs. Gilman and their two daughters; and Mrs. Gilman's two sisters, the Miss Woolseys (the elder better known under the name of Susan Coolidge), spent several summers with them. Here Mr. Gilman could have his study with his books and maps at hand, where, after the morning reading with the family, he would be absorbed not only by the correspondence for the Johns Hopkins and in preparing speeches and annual reports, but also in more substantial pieces of work, — in particular his introduction to de Tocqueville and his life of James D. Dana. The afternoons were spent in walking, climbing, driving, rowing or sailing. Mr. Gilman used often to say that a sail-boat was as good a place for conversation as a dinner-table, and it was certainly true when, among others, such brilliant talkers were brought together as Mrs. Caspar Wistar, the Miss Irwins, Professor George Fisher, Bishop Hall and Dr. William R. Huntington. The two founders of Northeast Harbor were Bishop Doane and President Eliot, and from them grew an ever-widening circle of friends, ecclesiastical and literary. It used to be amusing to count how many bishops and college presidents had been at Northeast Harbor during a single summer, and it was sometimes six or eight of each profession. With such men as leaders it was not surprising that many good things began to take shape, and Mr. Gilman was among the foremost in planning and in helping forward the best interests of the community. As Dr. Cornelius Smith, one of his Northeast Harbor friends, said of Mr. Gilman after his death: "He touched so many things, and to everything he touched he gave life." Such a summer community as that of Northeast Harbor demanded a high type of library. A number of people subscribed fifty dollars each for a capital fund, others raised money by entertainments, so that land was

bought and a good building erected. The library was supported by yearly subscriptions and by an occasional benefit entertainment for the purchase of new books. Mr. Gilman was one of a small body of directors, and gave much time to the selection of books and in advising the librarian as to methods, etc. A characteristic incident is remembered. One year the question arose of closing the library on the Fourth of July and giving the librarian a holiday. Mr. Gilman, who felt that the quiet of the room might on that day be especially agreeable to some of the members, did not oppose the measure, but quietly took the place of the librarian himself, so that both results were obtained.

Mr. Gilman's relations with the permanent residents of the place were most pleasant. "We always call him 'our President,'" said one of the sea-captains, "he treats us as if we were gentlemen." Following these natural relations with the people of the place came the wish to make Northeast Harbor a more desirable residence all the year round. Mr. Gilman served for many years as director of the Village Improvement Society and had much to do with the starting of the Neighborhood House. He realized the need of a social meeting place throughout the year, where books, games and lectures could be enjoyed, and to this cause he gave liberally of his time and his money. Nothing was too small for his sympathetic coöperation, if it promised to give help to others. He showed an understanding of and regard for the best interests and aspirations of the place, which endeared him to the community. Perhaps the service for which the permanent residents expressed most gratitude was his interest and help in the establishment of a High School. In 1905 the young people of Northeast and Seal Harbors had only the lower school grades, and for High School instruction they had to leave the village from Monday to Friday, which entailed not only expense, but the dangers of too great liberty for the scholars. A special

town meeting was called to consider the subject, at which both Dr. William R. Huntington and Mr. Gilman spoke. Their words had great weight, both as enunciating proper educational principles and as showing that the summer residents were willing to have their tax-rate raised when it was for the general welfare. The scheme went through, and when, a few weeks later, the young High School master arrived, Mr. Gilman gave him many helpful suggestions for the benefit of the school. A few weeks later the teacher wrote that the name "Gilman School" had been chosen, and in spite of persuasion to give it the name of some historic worthy, it so remains.

These and other activities made Northeast Harbor full of interest to Mr. Gilman and his family, but the greatest charm lay in the home life at "Over-Edge." The wide verandah, with its view of hills and sea and islands, was a delightful gathering place, and Mr. Gilman had the leisure in summer, which he sometimes lacked in winter, for social intercourse with his friends. Many interesting topics were discussed, many wise plans were formed. Here three of his friends, who had been friends for fifty years, — Professor Fisher of Yale, Archdeacon Tiffany of New York and President White of Cornell, — would enjoy coming and talking over things new and old. Among the many other visitors at "Over-Edge," besides the Mount Desert circle already mentioned, may be named, to indicate the wide variety of friends and interests that came together there, President Adams of the University of Wisconsin, Judge Gray of Delaware, Bishop McKay Smith of Pennsylvania, Dr. Manning of New York, Mr. Rhodes the historian, Dr. Frizzell of Hampton, Dr. Cuthbert Hall of the Union Theological Seminary, and Dr. George Adam Smith of Glasgow. "A man that hath friends must shew himself friendly," and Mr. Gilman's true interest in other people's careers and projects was one of his most

marked characteristics. Bishop Satterlee conferred with him long and earnestly at Northeast Harbor about the plans for the Washington Cathedral, and persuaded him that though he was a member of the Congregational Church, he was needed on the Chapter of the Cathedral. Dr. Welch came from the Johns Hopkins to plan for the Memorial Fund for Major Reed, the discoverer of the germ of Yellow Fever, and Mr. Gilman called a meeting at Bar Harbor to further this undertaking.

The topography and history of the island greatly interested Mr. Gilman. The possibility, if not the probability, that Talleyrand was a native of Mount Desert; the early landing of the Jesuits at the mouth of Somes' Sound; Champlain's discovery of the island, — all these gave historic interest to drives and sailing parties. A number of Northeast Harborites joined with Mr. Gilman in having a brass tablet placed on a boulder, to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of Champlain's discovery. A notable company gathered on the rocky headland one beautiful summer day in 1906 to unveil the monument. Speeches were made and verses read, but to some of the spectators the most beautiful memory is that of Mr. Gilman's personal pleasure in the accomplishment of this pious act of recognition.

It may be seen from all this that the summers on Mount Desert counted for much more than a mere escape from the heat of the city and from the pressing labors of the university year. They have been dwelt on at some length because they really formed, for about twenty-five years, a very important part of Mr. Gilman's life.

At this place may be mentioned a little social organization which, the outgrowth of one of his public-spirited efforts and itself the source of a number of useful activities, was

in its personal aspect one of the real pleasures of Mr. Gilman's later years. His energetic interposition for the saving of the Mercantile Library has been mentioned in a previous chapter. One of the younger men whose coöperation he enlisted in this work has written down his recollections of what Mr. Gilman did for the reorganized Library, and how, out of the associations thus formed, arose the '91 Club:

He drew about him a group of a dozen young men to take up the management. He assigned the duties of the directors or owners and of the managers or guardians of the Library; spent hours among the thirty thousand volumes, culling out the more valuable and giving away duplicates, with suggestions for new books and periodicals, for brighter rooms and more pleasant surroundings. He inspired all with the freshness of his ideas and the novelty of the pleasant arrangements and set the stamp of his personality upon the whole enterprise, from which thousands have since benefited. . . . So it was that two or three years later, on a certain evening in January, 1891, six or eight of that young group were invited to the McCoy residence on Eutaw Place, into which the President of Johns Hopkins had lately moved. We were asked to look over and talk over some of the treasures of the library which the late owner had housed in a special addition to his home. Here the talk was of books, pictures, politics, civic improvement, university ideals; any fresh, live topic was welcomed. It was determined at once that the members present should form a club. There were to be no officers elected and no constitution or by-laws framed, but it was unanimously felt that Mr. Gilman should be the head, and one of those present offered to act as Secretary.

Three or four meetings were held each winter at irregular intervals. There was a simple dinner and afterwards a round-the-table talk, when members or distinguished visitors specially invited might speak at any length they chose, but always quite informally, on some special subject. The

number forming the circle increased by natural growth, without any formal election, to twenty, the membership covering a wide range of professions and pursuits. Among the guests at different times were scholars like Jebb, Butcher, Sidney Lee and Brunetière, church dignitaries like Cardinal Gibbons and Bishops Brooks and Potter, and others whose talk brought the Club into contact with large and varied aspects of the world. Among the members themselves, in addition to the social and intellectual pleasure of the meetings, there arose out of them in more than one direction the initial impulse to civic movements of importance.

The member of the '91 Club above quoted gives this account of Mr. Gilman's personal traits and his appearance at this time of his life:

Most suggestive and inspiring he was to young people, young women as well as young men. He never seemed bored in their company, and with children he seemed ever at home; quickly catching their attention, listening to their talk and in the gentlest way entering into their sports, and bringing himself to their level.

On a holiday he was the best of company always; an excellent traveller, most enthusiastic, and his enjoyment of nature was as simple as that of a child.

To include a description of his appearance in recent years: One remembers a man above middle height, with a well-developed frame, and broad, though slightly stooping shoulders; the head with extraordinary breadth of brow, square rather than dome-like, eyes keen and penetrating, ever-changing, full of insight and sympathy. His walk was quick, and there was energy in all his movements; his eyes especially bright and full of hearty greeting. He would rarely walk for the pleasure of walking; his walks were taken to reach his destination, and so perhaps he walked considerably in his busy life, but bodily exercise in the open air did not interest him for exercise sake. There was usually a pur-

pose in his movements; his steps would catch the notice of passers by, and betokened the thinker, the mind more active than the body.

No one present at the last gathering of the '91 Club at his house can forget the gracious words with which he made them welcome and bade them Godspeed at parting. With characteristic forgetfulness of self, he put aside physical suffering and was never more tranquil.

The occasion was in the winter of 1907-08, when a commemorative medal in the form of a bronze portrait of the President was presented to Mrs. Gilman by the Club, the legend whereon was "Educator — Citizen — Friend."

One can but regret that in telling the story of the life-work of Mr. Gilman so little can be added from records of intimate intercourse to what is to be obtained from the direct history of the work itself. The play of his inner thoughts and feelings in connection with the problems with which he was dealing, the men and events he was controlling or influencing, is caught only here and there, through some brief expression which he happens to have permitted himself. A letter from his brother William C. Gilman to Mrs. Gilman may be quoted in evidence at once of this reserve that was so constant a trait in him and of other qualities of which it would be pleasant to be able to say more, were the material obtainable:

NORWICH, April 7, 1909.

We all know and recall in conversation many things of which, fortunately or unfortunately, there remains not a single written word. His experience in the library, for instance, how hard he tried, against what discouragements, to make it a means of education and not a mere collection of books:—his long continued intimate relations with Mr. — in the cause of common schools, — what a bore this very excellent and public-spirited man was, — how he came to Daniel's room at night because he could find no

room in a hotel, took possession of his bed, leaving him to camp out on the lounge and read poetry to him, because he could not sleep: his fight in New Haven, when he was in the board of education, to prevent the diversion of the public money to the support of Roman Catholic schools; — his confidential intercourse with Mr. Sheffield.

Such reminiscences would enliven the narrative, if there were any recorded facts to support one's recollections, which after fifty years are indefinite.

He might have written something like this, — "I shall see you soon and will then say more." When he came to New York he would have a private conversation with Maria, strictly confidential, — another, late in the evening, equally confidential, with our father: if time permitted, a few cryptic words, equally private, with one or another of the family, and then he would be gone the next day. Yet, all the while, he was as affectionate and pleasant and entertaining as he could be, interested in the details of family life, sympathetic, kind, generous, never disputatious, — but always *reserved*. This habitual reticence continued, perhaps increased, through his life. We have felt for years that we were completely isolated from him in every respect, *except affection*, and that — the best thing in the world — we were always sure of. Not only about the important affairs in which he was engaged and the men with whom he was intimately associated, but about public affairs, public men, the questions of the day, he was cautious in expressions of opinion, — too much so, I sometimes thought. He was quick to recognize and commend what was good, — but he was discriminating, and unless it was his duty to make an unfavorable comment he could "smiling put the question by" and maintain a discreet silence in several different languages, ancient and modern.

After his resignation of the presidency of the Carnegie Institution, at the end of the year 1904, Mr. Gilman was not charged with administrative responsibilities, but he continued to be busily occupied with the public interests which he had served so long, and also wrote a number of reviews

and other articles. Among these may be specially mentioned the series of articles embodying interesting recollections of the formative years of the Johns Hopkins which appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* and were afterwards included in "The Launching of a University." It was only in the last year of his life that failing health caused him to abandon the active attention which he had so long been accustomed to give to such work as that connected with the Slater and Peabody funds, the General Education Board, etc. At the age of seventy-five and seventy-six he was as assiduous as ever in his attendance at the meetings of these boards, and would make the trip to New York to attend them as a matter of course. His interest in the Carnegie Institution likewise continued, and he attended regularly the meetings of the trustees of the Institution. His appointment as a Trustee of that remarkable benefaction, the Russell Sage Foundation, occurred in 1907, when he was in his seventy-sixth year; and he continued to be President of the National Civil Service Reform League until within a year of his death. He found an opportunity, in these last years, to render a valuable service to Baltimore; for it was at his instigation that Mr. Carnegie made his gift of a beautiful building for the Maryland Institute. Among the latest special movements in which he was interested may be mentioned that which has for its object the creation of a worthy memorial to Carl Schurz. Even in the last year of his life, when he was subject to periods of illness and often had little physical strength, he manifested the same devotion to the highest objects that had marked his life from the beginning; and when he was able to take part in affairs, the same quality of clear thought and efficient action was manifest.

In the pages contributed by Mrs. Gilman to this volume, and placed at the close of the biography, the European journey which occupied the last six months of Mr. Gilman's

life has been touched upon in a manner that makes any further reference to it more than superfluous. It formed a beautiful and serene last chapter in a life full of energetic and almost unremitting activity. Nothing could be a more fitting close to such a life than, after happy wanderings over the world in whose external aspects and whose historic records he had all his life taken so keen an interest, in the company of those to whom he was bound by ties of such perfect affection, to return, cheerful and hopeful, to the beloved home of his childhood, and there pass away without a struggle and almost without warning.

Mr. Gilman died at Norwich, October 13, 1908, having arrived there only the day before, after landing at New York October 7, on his return from the European tour. He was buried in Yantic Cemetery, where his remains rest with those of his forefathers.

A multitude of letters came to Mrs. Gilman, bearing tributes of sincere affection, gratitude and honor of which it is needless to convey an idea. An extract from the letter written by Mr. Henry Holt is of distinctive character:

I have often thought lately that if at our meeting as boy and girl which I so vividly remember, we had invoked for you, and him, the best life we could, we could not have been wise enough to equal what the reality has been. I cannot think of any American life of the time that has been more important than the one to which it was your privilege to give happiness and inspiration.

A few lines from Dr. Osler's letter may also be set down:

PARIS, October 16, 1909.

I have just seen in the *Times* the announcement of the death of my dear friend — or rather Mrs. Osler read it out — and I exclaimed from my heart, My father! My father!

the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof! My next feeling was one of gratitude that he should have been able to do so much for higher education in America and for medical education. A splendid life and a splendid work! We of the medical profession owe him an everlasting debt of gratitude. Not of us, he was always with us, heart and soul, and it was always a great satisfaction to me to feel that he knew we appreciated his efforts on behalf of the Medical School. The start on sound lines which he gave the Hospital was one of the best things he ever did. What memories of those happy days come up! Little did we think that so much would be accomplished in so short a time.

And out of the many other letters, the following from Professor Griffin, dean of the College Faculty of Johns Hopkins, is given, not only because of the deep and sincere feeling which pervades it, but because it brings out vividly the nature of a personal relation of peculiar delicacy covering many years:

BALTIMORE, October 25, 1908.

MY DEAR MRS. GILMAN:

You have so many letters from friends at a distance that it hardly seems right for one close at hand to add to the number, but I have thought so often of you, in your return to your empty house, that I cannot help sending you a word to tell you how well I understand what it is that you have to go through, and how earnestly I sympathise with you. . . .

I cannot begin to tell you the honor and affection and gratitude which I have for Mr. Gilman, and ever shall have, while I live. As I look back over the many years of my association with him — meeting him, not daily, but many times a day — I can recall nothing which it is not a pleasure to remember. Under all the stress of care that was upon him, and amid all the perplexing and vexatious details with which the president of a university must deal, I never knew him to lose his self-command, or the poise of his judgment, or to show any lack of courtesy, or do anything unjust or

unkind. It is impossible to conceive anything more nearly ideal than his relations with his official subordinates. He always spoke of his professors as his "colleagues," and he treated them as such, in very fact, seldom using words of authority, but taking them into his confidence, and working with them in the spirit of coöperation and comradeship. As a consequence, he secured a kind of service which could not be commanded and could not be bought.

I never knew any one who was more quick to recognize merit, and was more delighted when good work was done, and was more ready to help forward, in every possible way, any one worth helping. His nature was too magnanimous to harbor jealousy, or to act under any kind of unworthy motive. No one could see him often, and talk with him confidentially, without learning lessons of honor and generosity and high-mindedness. To me personally, he was the truest and kindest of friends, from the beginning until the end. I shall miss him sadly. I know that, with his departure, much has gone out of my life.

I have recalled, during these past days, his reply to me when I spoke of Mr. Stewart's death in a way that implied regret that it should have come so suddenly. His dissent was so emphatic that I felt it as a reproof for my thoughtlessness, and I know that the call came to him in the very way which he would have chosen. Is it not the way we would all choose if the choice were permitted us? . . .

Most sincerely yours,

EDWARD H. GRIFFIN.

AN AFTERWORD

WHEN a life of seventy-seven years comes to an end we say "He lived long," and yet the time has gone quickly to one to whom each new day was an opportunity. To us who sum up the life of Mr. Gilman it seems almost without a flaw, and yet he was conscious of many imperfections, and more than once as he drew near his end he said: "I have not done my best"; "I have not made the most of my life"; and "We only learn how to live when it comes time to go." This was no morbid or self-conscious regret, but the conviction of a man of lofty ideals who shot high because his aim was the stars. In the race of life he made no account of the difficulties or embarrassments he had encountered; he saw only far ahead the goal he could not win.

He was born with a quick and ardent energy which would carry him over many obstacles, and with time and discipline he had learned great patience which could bear with long delay and many drawbacks and yet never lose the end in view. This was naturally partly due to a sanguine and hopeful disposition, but the root was still deeper in his unshakable faith in God's providence, which soon or late would prosper all good purposes and bring good out of apparent evil. When fair prospects were clouded by misfortune, he would often say, "The Lord reigns," and found in that strength and courage.

When so unusual and so influential a personality is taken from us, we ask ourselves the difficult question, "In what did this man differ from other men, and whence did he derive his peculiar characteristics?" As we read of his early life, it is evident that from his father he inherited the

sympathetic altruism which led him at an early age and throughout his long life to take an active and energetic interest in all schemes of philanthropy or charity, or for the educational and moral uplift of his fellow-men. He gave to such subjects his best and most earnest thought, and all those who have worked with him have felt the urging stimulus of his suggestions and coöperation. But whence did he derive that intuitive estimate of the real character of the men who surrounded him, the sympathetic insight which enabled him to detect the latent strength in the midst of apparent weakness, the germ of talent hidden in failure? This was part of the secret of his influence with other men. He discovered them to themselves. He never wearied in his sympathy with those who were earnestly trying to find the clue to a better life than the one they were leading, and often showed them a road to success. After his death came many letters which testified to the value of his counsel at some critical moment. More than one wrote that his success in life was due to the impulse given by Mr. Gilman's advice and aid; one wrote, "I owe to him thirty-two happy years."

He believed in happiness as an end and aim, but to him happiness meant no mere physical indulgence or enjoyment, but the sense of work performed or well undertaken, free converse with minds of earnest intelligence, travel, and new experience, and, above all, the home!

There he was at his best. As he put his latch-key into the door when work was over, he entered into his sanctuary of repose and pleasure. The disturbances of the day might have been many, the labors of the day heavy, but they dropped from him like a cloak at the threshold. There were no backward glances, no tired tones in his voice. All the household knew that with the coming of the master came a new freshness of enjoyment and peace.

He loved punctuality and regular hours. He seldom worked in the evenings and never discussed difficult affairs, if he could possibly avoid it, after the day's work was done. His family life was too precious to him to be marred by the anxieties and perplexities of the hours of labor. He was a sound sleeper, kept early hours and awoke every morning renovated and ready to take up life again with energy.

He was a kind and just master, never familiar, but always courteous with those in his employment. He exacted excellent service and received it, and not only was respected but much loved by all who served him. His servants were always his devoted and admiring friends, quick to perceive his needs and eager to meet his suggestions. Perhaps his invariable appeal to the best in every one with whom he had dealings was a tribute as well as an appeal. Assuredly it acted as such. One of his old and attached servants said of him, "We respected him and he respected us."

Into this home life of punctuality, leisure and repose — a life which absolutely met his cravings — Mr. Gilman delighted to welcome his friends. Hospitality with him was not only a privilege but a duty. He loved to see around his table friends young and old as well as strangers who came with proper credentials. Many distinguished men of many nationalities were welcomed there, and many thoughts which proved the germs of future enterprise have been dropped half unconsciously under the stimulus of his appreciative interest.

He delighted in conversation, but abhorred the gossip and trivialities which too often usurp its place, and the *double entente* and malicious innuendo were received with cold displeasure. As Mr. Gildersleeve has said, "His presence was a bright presence and a pure presence." One of his friends has written lately of his life at "Over-Edge": "What a story that house could tell of the interesting and notable people that have been under that roof; of the

'good talk' which he led with such skill that he brought out the best that every one had to give. I have often noticed with admiration how he guided the conversation into the right channels, away from the trivial and unimportant, and so naturally and simply that I am sure that almost no one suspected how complete was his control."

In conversation, as in literature, he demanded the best. One of his admonitions to his children and to all young people who came under his influence was, "Strike always and in everything for the best; never be satisfied with the second-best."

Mr. Gilman was a great reader and was endowed with that desirable quality of reading very rapidly, passing slightly by the less important pages and never forgetting what was truly valuable, so that months or years after reading a book he could turn to a page or paragraph with deft precision. His books were indeed his tools, and he handled them with accuracy and skill.

He had always looked forward to the last years of his life as to be spent largely in his library, but the disqualifications of old age held long aloof and his keen and active interests outside the limits of his home lasted until very nearly the end.

He was endowed by nature with a vigorous and sound constitution and had had few illnesses, so that it was only within the last year of his life that his physical powers began to weaken. The winter of 1907 and 1908 was a time, not of much suffering, but of impediment and discomfort. There was no cloud of apprehension or dismay, but those who were constantly with him detected a new note in his plans for the future. He would say, "I hope you will do thus and so," and when the eager interruption would come, "And you too," he would smile and say, "Oh, yes, I too, if I am here."

There was never a word of complaint or murmur of

weariness. He took the enforced confinement and change of his daily life with unabated courage, and amused and interested himself with his pen and book and in examining and arranging the huge mass of correspondence which had grown up around him into almost unmanageable proportions.

A summer abroad had been planned, but under these new circumstances would have been abandoned but for his determination. On the twenty-ninth of March, 1908, with his wife and daughter he sailed for Naples, stopping *en route* at the Azores and Madeira. Mr. Gilman enjoyed every step of the way. These wonderful islands of the sea with their glorious vegetation delighted him, and through the entire summer he enjoyed the sight-seeing and the daily drives and excursions. He more than once said that it was the pleasantest of all his many trips to Europe and would sum up at night, "One more delightful day."

His health seemed to improve greatly. He had not the vigor of even one year ago, but he regained the habit of uninterrupted sleep and had an excellent appetite, and the lameness, which had been a great impediment in the winter, disappeared to a great extent, so that he turned his face homeward with a vigorous desire to get back to work.

His friends who saw him on his arrival were struck by the improvement in his appearance, and it seemed as if a good winter was beginning for him, when on the seventh day after his arrival suddenly and without premonition "God took him." He had no fear of death, but a great fear of the disabilities and infirmities of old age, so that even those nearest to him felt in his sudden going from them as if his prayers had been granted.

Of his beautiful fatherhood and of the complete unselfishness of his life of service and self-surrender I have not spoken. These are memories to be cherished in the secret places of the hearts he loved best.

Among his papers was found a copy recently made of this extract from the "Monologen" of Schleiermacher in the "History of the Church" by Hagenbach. It is a portrait picture of those last days:

"I will keep my spirits without flagging to the end of my days. The fresh courage of life shall never forsake me. What gladdens me now shall gladden me always. My will shall continue firm and my imagination vivid. Nothing shall snatch from me the magic key which opens to me those doors of the invisible world which are filled with mystery, and the fire of love in my heart shall never grow dim. I shall never experience the dreaded weakness of old age. I will treat with noble disdain every adversity which assails the aim of my existence, and I promise myself eternal youth."

E. D. W. G.

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¹ This index was prepared by Miss Lettice Latané, to whom I am also indebted for most valuable assistance throughout the work. — F. F.

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